

345101  
JPRS-EPS-84-131

24 October 1984

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

19990324 120

~~DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 2~~

**FBIS** FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY  
NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
INFORMATION SERVICE  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

**DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A**  
Approved for Public Release  
Distribution Unlimited

5  
107  
A06

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

24 October 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Bucharest Event Marks GDR's 35th Anniversary (AGERPRES, 9 Oct 84) .....	1
--	---

#### ALBANIA

FRG State Ministers Praise Hannover Pavilion (ATA, 8 Oct 84) .....	2
Youth Union Central Committee Plenum Convenes (ATA, 7 Oct 84) .....	3
Briefs	
Trade Delegation to Greece	4
Cultural Agreement With Vietnam	4

#### BULGARIA

Zhivkov Presents Dimitrov Prize to UK Scientist (BTA, 11 Oct 84) .....	5
Zhivkov Receives Zambia's Mulemba (BTA, 9 Oct 84) .....	7
Briefs	
Cooperation Protocol With Spain	8
Libyan, Brazilian Envoys	8
New Venezuelan Ambassador	8
Zhivkov, Todorov With Japanese MP	8
Japanese Socialist Party Delegation	8
Venezuelan Ambassador's Arrival	9
Danish Ambassador's Departure	9
Leaders at Vietnamese Embassy	9
Ethiopian Envoy Presents Credentials	9

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Prosecutors Interviewed on Inner German Legal Clash (Peter Przybylski, Guenther Wieland Interview; DER SPIEGEL, No 36, Sep 84) .....	10
State Supports Shrinking Jewish Community (C. Girardet; NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 22 Sep 84) .....	20

## POLAND

Role of Military in Political System Described (Mariusz Gulczynski; WOJSKO LUDOWE, No 7, Jul 84) .....	24
Border Guard Personnel, Activities Discussed (ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, 10 Jun 84; TRYBUNA LUDU, 13 Jun 84) .....	34
Career of Political Officer, by Boleslaw Jagielski Activities of Sea Brigade, by Zbigniew Damski Cooperation With State Administration	
Zygulski Discusses Cultural Developments for Upcoming Year (Kazimierz Zyguiski Interview; RZECZPOSPOLITA, various dates) .....	40
Wage Differential of Poles Working Abroad Termed Unfair (Lech Czudaj; TAK I NIE, No 36, 7 Sep 84) .....	47

## ROMANIA

Anniversary of Diplomatic Relations With PRC (Editorial; SCINTEIA, 5 Oct 84) .....	49
---	----

## YUGOSLAVIA

Rozic Discusses Dissidence, SAWPY Talks (Marjan Rozic Interview; INTERVJU, 31 Aug 84) .....	52
SAWPY President Rozic Comments on Dissidence (Marjan Rozic Interview; DUGA, No 272, 28 Jul 84) .....	61
LCY Presidium on Ideological Struggle (KOMUNIST, No 1436, 5 Oct 84) .....	72
Bilic Chairs Meeting on All-People's Defense (TANJUG Domestic Service, 10 Oct 84) .....	77
Kosovo President Receives TANJUG Officials (TANJUG Domestic Service, 11 Oct 84) .....	78
Bosnian Edition of KOMUNIST Denounces KNJIZEVNA REC (Esad Zgodic; KOMUNIST, 31 Aug 84) .....	80

'Self-Censoring' Alteration of Published Texts Decried (Dusan Ivanic; KNJIZEVNA REC, No 238-240, Summer 1984) .....	85
Actor Serbedzija on Recent Cultural Events (Rade Serbedzija Interview; KNJIZEVNA REC, No 238-240, Summer 1984) .....	90
Discussion of Banned Book on 1968 Student Demonstrations (Milomir Maric; INTERVJU, 31 Aug 84) .....	93

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BUCHAREST EVENT MARKS GDR'S 35TH ANNIVERSARY

AU091825 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 9 Oct 84

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Oct (AGERPRES)--On October 9 in the afternoon the Bucharest fine-mechanics enterprise hosted a get-together as part of the events occasioned by the 35th foundation anniversary of the German Democratic Republic. Leading cadres and representatives of the working people of that enterprise participated. Members of the GDR Embassy in Romania attended.

During the get-together Victor Nicolescu, technical director of that enterprise, and Siegfried Bock, GDR ambassador in Bucharest, took the floor, evoking the significance of the event under celebration as well as the successes achieved by the working people in the GDR in their country's economic and social development, the thriving of science, culture, education and in enhancing the standard of living, material and spiritual, of the people.

Highlighting the good relations of friendship and collaboration established between the two parties, countries and peoples, the speakers pointed out the decisive role played by the interviews and talks between RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, and Erich Honecker, general secretary of the CC of the SED, chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, and by the understandings reached on those occasions, that on each occasion confer new important values to the bilateral collaboration in the political, economic, technical, scientific and other planes, to the benefit of the two peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

CSO: 2020/8

ALBANIA

FRG STATE MINISTERS PRAISE HANNOVER PAVILION

AU081426 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 8 Oct 84

[Text] Tirana, October (ATA)--These days, the Minister for Federal Affairs Wilfried Haselmann, the Minister of Finances Dr Ritz, and the Minister of Culture and Sciences of the Land of Lower Saxony Cassens, visited the Albanian pavilion at the international fair of Hannover. The minister for the federal affairs. V. Haselmann, said among other things: "At the Albanian pavilion one is impressed not only by the perfect manner of the goods display, but also by the beauty of their exhibits and their high quality. The pavilion has aroused interest and has been visited by many German citizens. Certainly, this has to do with their concern for our country." While the minister of culture and science, Cassens, stopping in front of the stand, where Comrade Enver Hoxha's works were put, said: "You also have many interesting publications. I have long since read some of them and they have made great impressions on me."

Likewise, a cocktail [party] was given at the pavilion of the PSR of Albania these days. [as received] Attending were the minister of agriculture and forests of the Land of Lower Saxony, G. Glup, the minister of home affairs of the land, Meklingef, the mayor of Hannover, Herbert Selmatig, etc. In his greeting, the mayor of Hannover, Selmatig, expressed among other things, his satisfaction for the participation of Albania in the fair of Hannover. The Albanian pavilion, he said, is beautiful and arouses great interest.

CSO: 2020/6

YOUTH UNION CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM CONVENES

AU071429 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 7 Oct 84

[Text] Tirana, October 7 (ATA)--The plenum of the Central Committee of the Labour Youth Union of Albania [LYUA] was convened in the capital yesterday. It discussed on the further increase of the political engagement in the major problems of the country, on the strengthening of the revolutionary vigilance, on the intensification of the spirit of action of the youth in implementation of the tasks laid down by the 9th plenum of the Central Committee of the party.

In his speech to the plenum, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the LYUA, Mehmet Elezi, dwelt on the role of the youth for the application of the tasks defined by the 9th plenum of the CC of the party on the increase of the efficiency of the economy. The plenum underlined the advanced experience and pointed out that, in implementation of the targets of the movement "where the youth is, progress must be". The youth are setting their example through their work with strict discipline and high sense of responsibility, the realization of the norms, the strengthening of the frugal use, the reduction of the cost, the deepening of the technical and scientific resolution and the perfection of the relations in production.

The plenum pointed out also some important directions of the educational and political work of the youth organizations in implementation of the tasks laid down by the 9th plenum of the CC of the party and the teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha, in order to enhance the force of action, realization and transformation of the youth in all the fields of the socialist construction and the defense of the homeland.

CSO: 2020/6



## ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

TRADE DELEGATION TO GREECE--Tirana, 7 Oct (ATA)--At the invitation of the Chamber of Trade and Industry of Athens, Salonica and Ioannina, a delegation of the Trade Chamber of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by Dervish Gjiriti, vice-chairman of the Trade Chamber and head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Trade, made a visit in Greece these days. The Albanian delegation exchanged opinions at the Chamber of Trade and Industry of Athens, Salonica and Ioannina on the further development of trade and extension of the range of export and import goods as well as of the relations between the trade chambers of the two countries. It had also contacts with representatives of the Greek trade firms concerning problems of goods exchange. During its stay in Greece, the Albania delegation was also received by the president of the Union of the Chambers of Trade and Industry of Greece, I. Efremoglu, by the president of the Chamber of Trade and Industry of Salonica, V. Petidhis, and by the president of the Chamber of Trade and Industry of Ioannina, K. Moisiadhis. He was also received by the prefect of Ioannina, V. Brakacullas. These meetings passed in a friendly atmosphere. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 7 Oct 84 AU]

CULTURAL AGREEMENT WITH VIETNAM--Tirana, 6 Oct (ATA)--The protocol on the cultural and scientific exchanges between the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam for 1984-1985 was signed yesterday in Tirana. For the Albania side the protocol was signed by the chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries, Jorgo Melica, and for the Vietnamese side by Hoang Duoc Tinh, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in Tirana. Present at the signing ceremony were also the vice-minister of education and culture, Bardhyl Golemi, the director of the department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Zeqi Agolli and the member of the two delegations. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 6 Oct 84 AU]

CSO: 2020/6

## BULGARIA

### ZHIVKOV PRESENTS DIMITROV PRIZE TO UK SCIENTIST

AU112038 Sofia BTA in English 1953 GMT 11 Oct 84

[Text] Sofia, 11 Oct (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, presented Prof Dorothy Hodgkin [spelling as received] with the International Idimitrov Prize. Prof Dorothy Hodgkin is a world famous scientist in the sphere of crystallography and president of the Pugwash Conferences of Science and World Affairs.

Congratulating Prof Dorothy Hodgkin Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed to her merits as a scientist and a public figure, to her contribution to the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress in the world.

Stressing that today more than one third of the scientists in the world are working for the military industry and that at the same time other scientists do not have the necessary conditions to work effectively and that only 5 per cent of the world scientific potential is working on the problems of agriculture and environment, the Bulgarian state leader pointed to the obvious necessity to raise the responsibility of the scientist for the purposes for which their discoveries and inventions are being used, whether they serve man or are directed against him, whether they are used for life or against life.

Today there are two policies in the world--one is trying to push mankind toward destruction and the other, to new achievements of civilization, and the scientists are well aware that there is no third way because there is no third way of using the weapons which may be triggered, Mr Todor Zhivkov said. We cannot close our eyes before truth; the pillars of peace are bending under the weight of the new weapons, he said.

The Bulgarian people have always strived to maintain good relations with Great Britain even more so now that the possibilities for cooperation have increased, Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed, expressing his hope that his understanding of the place and role of the scientists in the modern world coincides or is close to those of Prof Hodgkin--the representative of a country which has given the world great humanists and prominent scientists.

We pointed out that Bulgaria will continue to work in defense of peace and to contribute to the consolidating of peace and the establishment of a nuclear weapon free zone in the Balkans, to security and goodneighborliness in Europe and the world.

In her speech Prof Dorothy Hodgkin thanked on behalf of the Pugwash Conferences for the resources allotted by the Lyudmila Zhivkova Foundation to be used for attracting an ever-growing number of young scientists in this movement.

Prof Dorothy Hodgkin dwelled in detail on the activities of the Pugwash Conferences which actively work with many scientists all over the world. She stressed that an ever growing number of scientists and above all of young scientists are joining the efforts of the Pugwash Conferences for establishing greater security in the world.

She gave a high assessment to Bulgaria's constant policy for realizing the idea for turning the Balkans into a nuclear weapon free zone for peace and security in Europe and in the world.

CSO: 220/5

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES ZAMBIA'S MULEMBA

AU091413 Sofia BTA in English 1345 GMT 9 Oct 84

[Text] Sofia, 9 Oct (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, received Mr Humphrey Mulemba, secretary general of the United National Independence Party of Zambia (UNIP), who delivered to him a personal message from Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Humphrey Mulemba expressed their satisfaction with the promotion of relations between Bulgaria and Zambia and discussed the possibilities for their further development in depth and scope.

A positive assessment was given to the contacts between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the United National Independence Party and the conviction was expressed that the two parties will persist in strengthening their relations in the interest of both peoples, of the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Humphrey Mulemba paid special attention to the problems of Africa and to the struggle of the peoples in the southern part of the continent for national and social liberation.

The secretary general of the CC of the BCP reiterated the invariable solidarity of the BCP and of the Bulgarian people with the front-line states and the national liberation movements, the African National Congress and SWAPO, struggling against the attempts of imperialism led by the U.S. to check the rising tide of the revolutionary process in Africa, for the achievement of genuine national independence, freedom and social progress for the African peoples.

CSO: 2200/5

## BRIEFS

COOPERATION PROTOCOL WITH SPAIN--Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade, and Luis de Elasco Rami, Spanish secretary of state for trade, have signed a mutual cooperation protocol. This protocol provides for an intensification of the trade ties in shipbuilding, machinebuilding, establishing of small- and medium-sized enterprises, and mutual cooperation with third countries. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 10 Oct 84 AU]

LIBYAN, BRAZILIAN ENVOYS--Comrade Todor Zhivkov has received Farage Mohammad Suaiti, deputy secretary of the People's Committee of the Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, and Carlos Alberto Pereira Pinto, Brazilian ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with their final departure from the country. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 Oct 84 AU]

NEW VENEZUELAN AMBASSADOR--Comrade Todor Zhivkov has received Dr Antonio Avelado Leal, the newly appointed Venezuelan ambassador to Bulgaria, who presented his credentials. In exchanging greetings speeches, a common desire for developing the friendly bilateral relations and also for joining efforts to safeguard world peace was emphasized. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Oct 84 AU]

ZHIVKOV, TODOROV WITH JAPANESE MP--Sofia, 5 Oct (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, received Kidji Moriyamo [spelling as received], chairman of the Association for Friendship with Bulgaria with the Chamber of Representatives of the Japanese parliament who is on a visit to this country. The friendly talks discussed the state and the prospects of Bulgaro-Japanese relations. The two sides to the talks expressed the mutual readiness to promote bilateral cooperation. Today the Japanese guest was received by Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, who pointed out that good relations of friendship and cooperation exist between Bulgaria and Japan and between their parliaments. In his turn Mr Kidji Moriyamo pointed out that Japan values this cooperaton. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1713 GMT 5 Oct 84 AU]

JAPANESE SOCIALIST PARTY DELEGATION--Sofia, 5 Oct (BTA)--A delegation of the Japanese Socialist Party, led by Mr Hisamizu Sugano [spelling as received], member of the House of Councillors of the Parliament was on a visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the CC of the BCP from September 30 through October 5. During the visit the delegation acquainted itself with the development

of Bulgarian agriculture and with its scientific achievements. The delegation met with Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP. During the meeting the two parties discussed some topical issues of the international situation and mainly those related to the preservation of peace. Mr Sugano gave a high assessment to Bulgaria's achievements in the sphere of agriculture. The two parties to the talks expressed their desire for the further development of cooperation between the two parties. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 5 Oct 84]

VENEZUELAN AMBASSADOR'S ARRIVAL--Dr Antonio Avelledo Lea, the newly appointed Venezuelan ambassador to Bulgaria, has arrived in Sofia. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Oct 84 p 6 AU]

[DANISH AMBASSADOR'S DEPARTURE--Lorenz Petersen, Danish ambassador to Bulgaria, has effected his final departure. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Oct 84 p 6 AU]

LEADERS AT VIETNAMESE EMBASSY--Hoang Nhu Trong, Vietnamese ambassador to Bulgaria, last night gave a cocktail party at the embassy's premises on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Bulgarian-Vietnamese Friendship and Cooperation Treaty signed by Todor Zhivkov and Le Duan. Todor Bozhinov, Dimitur Stanishev, deputy ministers and chiefs of public and political organizations attended the cordial and friendly cocktail party. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Oct 84 p 6 AU]

ETHIOPIAN ENVOY PRESENTS CREDENTIALS--Sofia, 10 Oct (BTA)--Bulgaria will persist in her solidarity with Ethiopia and in rendering assistance to her efforts toward building the foundations of socialism, said today State Council President Todor Zhivkov as he received the letters of credence from Dr Geremu Debele, the newly appointed ambassador of Ethiopia to this country. Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed out the successful promotion of Bulgaro-Ethiopian relations. The political, economic and trade contacts are becoming more stable and are being expanded. Scientific cooperation and cultural ties are also undergoing an upgrade development. He called the establishment of a vanguard Marxist-Leninist Workers' Party of Ethiopia the greatest achievement of the Ethiopian revolution. Ambassador Dr Geremu Debele expressed his conviction that the relations between the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and the Bulgarian Communist Party will be consolidated and promoted in the mutual interests, that the cooperation between Ethiopia and Bulgaria will be expanded and strengthened. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1900 GMT 10 Oct 84 AU]

CSO: 2200/5

PROSECUTORS INTERVIEWED ON INNER GERMAN LEGAL CLASH

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 38 No 36, Sep 84 pp 28-32

[Interview with Peter Przybylski and Guenther Wieland, GDR prosecuting attorneys, by SPIEGEL editors Hans-Wolfgang Sternsdorff and Ulrich Schwarz, held in the offices of the General Prosecuting Attorney in East Berlin, date not specified]

[Text] The Weissgerber case has been straining inner-German relations. In August, the Hamburg Jury Court acquitted the 24-year-old defendant Frank Weissgerber (who in early 1983 had fled the GDR), even though he is strongly suspected of being a holdup murderer. The murder was committed in 1982 in the GDR district of Magdeburg. There were no political motives whatsoever. The accomplice Klaus Jabusch, who made a confession, was sentenced in Magdeburg to life imprisonment. Without giving any reasons, the Hamburg general prosecuting attorney rejected the GDR's request for extradition. Prosecuting Attorney Guenther Wieland, the official in charge of mutual assistance in law enforcement at the GDR public prosecutor's office, had twice traveled to Hamburg and submitted evidence. The Hamburg Jury Court, however, did not consider the material sufficient grounds for a conviction. Weissgerber himself had not made any statements. The GDR witnesses had not attended the trial in Hamburg and it had not been possible professionally to question them in Magdeburg in the presence of participants of the Hamburg proceedings. The Hamburg judgment has been appealed.

[Question] Mr. Przybylski, Mr. Wieland, the GDR is everywhere complaining about the fact that the Hamburg General Prosecuting Attorney did not extradite the GDR citizen Frank Weissgerber, a man suspected of murder, and that the Hamburg Jury Court even acquitted him. You could possibly have prevented either action. Instead of acting, however, the GDR protested--exactly why? We suspect that in the Weissgerber case the GDR is concerned not so much with justice as with theatrical effect.

[Wieland] In all seriousness I reject the assumption that we prefer theatrical effect to a decision in the case at hand. This situation arose because the Hamburg prosecuting attorney's office was not prepared in good faith to discuss extradition. This is evident from the fact that the public prosecutor did not adduce a single reason as to why he did not consent to the extradition of Frank Weissgerber to the state on the territory of which he committed the crime and of which he is a citizen. No reasons were given for this.

[Question] The Hamburg public prosecutor, Beck, stated this was not customary.

[Wieland] In the past, other public prosecutors did try to state their reasons. Whether or not this statement of reasons was always acceptable to us is a different question. For the first time, we are confronted with the fact that extradition of a holdup murderer is rejected without any statement of reasons. This is an innovation of the Hamburg general prosecuting attorney.

[Question] We assume that in the GDR the general prosecuting attorney and the judges abide by the GDR laws in force. Do you expect the Hamburg general prosecuting attorney and the Hamburg Jury Court not to abide by the laws in force there?

[Wieland] I assume that in Hamburg, too, people abide by the law. By your question, however, you suggest that somewhere in the Federal Republic of Germany there is a regulation that prohibits extradition of a GDR citizen to the German Democratic Republic. Please tell me, where does it say that?

[Question] It is true that such a regulation does not exist, but there is the 1953 Law on Inner-German Mutual Assistance in Law Enforcement. Admittedly, every law is not the ultimate in wisdom and this also goes for this law; it is in force, however, and it states unequivocally when extradition is permissible and when it is not. Do you expect a public prosecutor of the Federal Republic or a West German court of justice to disregard this law?

[Wieland] Just a minute, please. There is no mention of extradition being prohibited. Besides, this law is not something the Federal Republic can be proud of. It is a product of the Cold War.

[Question] Nevertheless, the law states: "Extradition on account of an act that within the jurisdiction of the petitioning authority is punishable by death is permissible only if it can be guaranteed that the defendant will not be sentenced to death." Weissgerber, who is charged with murder, would have faced the death penalty in the GDR. So no general prosecuting attorney of the Federal Republic was allowed to extradite him to the GDR.

[Wieland] Would you like to see the warrant issued for Weissgerber's arrest? It shows that if he were extradited, Weissgerber would certainly not be sentenced to death in the GDR.

[Question] Why not?



[Przybylski] Because the arrest warrant was issued in accordance with Article 112 Paragraph 1 of our Criminal Code. This paragraph reads: "He who with malice aforethought commits murder will be sentenced to imprisonment of 10 years to life." You see, compared with your criminal code, this penalty is milder. According to your code, life imprisonment is mandatory for murder.

[Question] But neither your nor our courts are bound to the legal interpretation of an arrest warrant. After all, the court could sentence Weissgerber in accordance with Paragraph 2 of the same article, which stipulates that for malicious or "especially brutal" murder the death penalty may be imposed.

[Wieland] Generally speaking, this is correct. It does not apply to extradition law, however. When you want someone to be extradited from another state, you're bound to the constituent facts in accordance with which the extradition is requested and authorized. The subsequent court sentence must not go beyond this. The Hamburg General Prosecuting Attorney could have based the extradition specifically on Paragraph 1. So in neither country does Weissgerber face the death penalty.

[Question] Did you present all this in Hamburg?

[Wieland] Come now, gentlemen! Please don't act as though we are the dialectally trained masters of mutual assistance in law enforcement, and your jurists, the first graders. Of course they realized at the first perusal what this was all about. Of all the jurists in the FRG who commented on the case, not a single one said Weissgerber would face the death penalty in the GDR. Only the press made this allegation. After all, I went to Hamburg in the fall--along with my colleague Degen. We were empowered to discuss all problems concerning extradition. There was no response whatsoever on the part of the Hamburg prosecutor's office. They only wanted evidence.

[Question] Did the Hamburg prosecuting attorneys ask you the question: Dear colleagues, can you guarantee that in a GDR trial Weissgerber will not be sentenced to death?

[Wieland] They did not ask this question and I did not propose it; for that would mean they cannot read.

[Question] If you had been asked in Hamburg: Can you give a legally binding guarantee that the death sentence will not be carried out--would you have answered: "Yes, we can"?

[Wieland] To all intents and purposes, this was said through submittal of the arrest warrant. To jurists, it was quite clear.

[Question] In the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, you criticized the Hamburg court's judgment as being "revanchist" and a "judicial farce" and you stated: "The acquittal of Weissgerber is a deliberate attempt to provoke the GDR by calling in question its sovereignty. Essentially, it implies that whoever in the FRG maliciously kills a GDR citizen need not fear punishment. He remains an honorable man." Such severe scolding gives rise to the suspicion that in

the Weissgerber Case the GDR is concerned not so much with justice as with politically capitalizing on the judgment.

[Wieland] You do not know me and you do not know the professional ethics my job rests on. I am not taking offense at your asking this question. You know, my colleague Przybylski knows quite a few of the FRG'S leading jurists. I got to know many of them when I still was a young prosecuting attorney bringing Nazi documents to the Federal Republic; that is to say I've known them for decades. Some of them I got to know during extradition talks. More than just one of your leading prosecutors told me: Mr. Wieland, I would be the first to order extradition in such a case, if the Bonn authorities established the appropriate framework.

[Question] You know full well that in 1974 the Federal Constitutional Court interpreted this law on mutual assistance in law enforcement so as to make it binding on all West German judges and prosecuting attorneys. The obstacles put up by Karlsruhe are so difficult that not a single defendant has since been extradited to the GDR. According to the stipulations of the Constitutional Court, it must be guaranteed that in the GDR the perpetrator will be brought before an impartial judge....

[Przybylski] ...a matter of course....

[Question] The proceedings there must be fair.

[Wieland] A matter of course.

[Question] The person concerned must be granted due process of law and he must be allowed to defend himself; the proceedings must make allowance for the requirements of justice and humaneness and there must be no grossly unjust punishment.

[Przybylski] All this is a matter of course.

[Question] This too? The prisoner's relatives and friends in the West must be allowed to visit him.

[Wieland] In the case of the 17-year-old Ingrid Brueckmann who had killed her father in the GDR, General Public Prosecutor Streit gave written assurances to this effect to the West Berlin general prosecuting attorney.

[Question] Karlsruhe holds that upon serving his time, the convict--if he pleases--must be allowed to return to the Federal Republic.

[Wieland] In the Ingrid Brueckmann case, the authorities guaranteed this as well. Nevertheless, this demand is an interference with our legal system; it is presumptuous.

[Question] Would you still have given this guarantee for Weissgerber as well?

[Wieland] It's not for me to say. I don't know whether in Weissgerber's case matters would have developed that far. Weissgerber's wife and three children are here and he has never seen his youngest child. I don't know whether in view of this situation he would have tried to return to the FRG.

[Question] If you really accept equanimously the conditions stipulated by Karlsruhe, why has your extradition request been frustrated?

[Wieland] In another extradition case--i.e. the case of the fugitive GDR citizen Hoehne who likewise had committed a murder--an agreement between the Celle general prosecuting attorney and GDR General Prosecuting Attorney Streit was about to be signed. According to this agreement, it was intended first to collect all the evidence--borrowing, as it were, from Anglo-American extradition law. All of a sudden, your prosecuting attorneys had forgotten this agreement. For this reason, I uphold my accusation to the effect that your side is not discussing the extradition in good faith. And I would like to add: Extradition talks need not necessarily entail actual extradition. But the talks should at least be conducted in good faith.

[Question] Exactly what do you think the Hamburg general prosecuting attorney could have done?

[Wieland] In Hamburg, too, I suggested we borrow from Anglo-American extradition law and first clarify the facts of the case. We would thus be doing more than is customary in such international legal contacts subject to FRG and GDR laws.

[Question] All this may be significant in regard to the decision on the extradition request, but according to our law the papers you sent to Hamburg were not sufficient to warrant conviction of a defendant in a trial.

[Przybylski] The Federal Constitutional Court's decision in the Brueckmann case is somewhat like the Chinese Wall. But it does not entirely preclude an extradition to the GDR. International law likewise affirms the principle that it is always the other state, i.e. the state affected by the crime, that is entitled to impose the penalty. According to the norms of international law, extradition is imperative in such a case.

[Question] But we feel the real issue, which you have been dodging so elegantly, is this: One of the reasons why extradition is so tricky is that according to West German law the defendant is a German national, whereas by your law he is a citizen of the GDR. If the Federal Republic were to extradite people on a regular basis, the GDR could construe from this international recognition of an independent GDR citizenship. Don't you primarily want through legal finessing to obtain political recognition of an independent GDR citizenship?

[Wieland] I emphatically deny this. Citizenship is just one of the issues. But this problem at issue between the GDR and the FRG is not an insurmountable obstacle to the extradition of Weissgerber. One thing I must emphasize--and I attach great importance to this statement: I have been a prosecuting

attorney for decades and my greatest concern is to show that all I do is directed toward solving and punishing crimes.

[Question] For 11 years and 21 rounds of negotiation, the two German governments have been discussing an agreement on mutual assistance in law enforcement. Can you tell us why these discussions have produced no results?

[Wieland] Unfortunately, we have to disappoint you. According to the conditions stipulated, these talks are confidential.

[Question] We don't want to wrest any secrets from you. But you know as well as we do what is amiss: It is on account of this citizenship problem that the two parties cannot reach an agreement. Why is it not possible to leave this issue out of consideration and--at a lower level--to reach agreement on less explosive points....

[Wieland] ...if this were so simple....

[Question] ...so that at least criminal offenses such as the Weissgerber case can be solved--without any political conflicts--in a way according with either side's sense of justice.

[Wieland] We completely agree. I can assure you: In spectacular cases of this kind and in particular in this criminal case which really is far removed from any politics, we went to Hamburg with the firm resolve to find a solution acceptable to both sides and according with the law.

[Question] Reading your commentary in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, however, one gains the impression you only want extradition, not a just sentence in Hamburg.

[Wieland] That's what you say! Of course we want extradition. But we were prepared to discuss all problems. This readiness to talk was ignored by the Hamburg prosecutors.

[Question] When you were in Hamburg, you wanted to interview Weissgerber in jail. Apparently he turned you down. Exactly what did you want of him?

[Wieland] I would have talked with him about subjects of human interest, about his relationship with his family, for example.

[Question] After all, you could hardly have made any tempting offers. There was no latitude in this regard. Even in Socialism, a life sentence is no piece of cake.

[Wieland] I can tell you one thing: Not even my Hamburg interlocutors thought I had come to make tempting offers. That had been precluded by my stating I would conduct such an interview only in the presence of a Hamburg prosecutor and--if required by Weissgerber--his defense attorney.

[Question] So are you saying that you would have accepted all of the Federal Constitutional Court's preconditions concerning extradition of Weissgerber?

[Wieland] We could have talked about it. If this proved impossible in this kind of case, then we might as well give up.

[Question] On this point we are in agreement.

[Wieland] It's not much use to us if we reach agreement only with the journalists, but not with the jurists. I can tell you one thing: In this 1 hour, we have discussed more substantive problems than we did with the Hamburg prosecutors in 2 days.

[Question] On at least one point, however, we are not agreed at all. We can't let go of the suspicion that the GDR is concerned only with the extradition of Weissgerber, not with a just sentence--wherever it would be passed. For after the extradition of Weissgerber had been rejected in Hamburg, you no longer made any effort (or so it appeared) to insure Weissgerber's conviction by the Hamburg Jury Court. Is this impression wrong?

[Wieland] The impression that we no longer transmitted anything to Hamburg is certainly correct.

[Question] But you could have dispatched the six witnesses and the Magdeburg forensic medical expert to the Hamburg trial. These witnesses and the medical expert would have assured the requisite immediacy of the taking of evidence. Under such circumstances, the judgment surely would have been different. You had full control over the situation, after all.

[Wieland] In our view--and according to GDR law--the Hamburg court is not a legal authority. And as you yourselves said a short while ago, we have to abide by the GDR law. Your prosecuting attorneys should abide by the laws of the Federal Republic.

[Question] Dogmatism thus leads to acquittal of a person suspected of murder.

[Wieland] Just a minute. We kept pointing out in Hamburg that Weissgerber's accomplice, Jabusch, was on trial in Magdeburg. Who would have prevented the Hamburg judicial organs from participating in this trial? We could have talked about it.

[Question] It would have been impossible to utilize this in the Hamburg proceedings against Weissgerber.

[Wieland] I am not so sure. At any rate, the judge could not have said that I had not personally observed the witness. After all, in both the Jabusch and the Weissgerber trial, we had the same witnesses. If the Hamburg court had requested clarification of questions arising in the Jabusch trial--questions it felt had to be answered in connection with the Weissgerber trial, we would have gone along.

[Question] For the time being, the Hamburg court had to insist on questioning your witnesses in Hamburg. If necessary, it would have been satisfied if the witnesses had been examined on commission by a GDR judge in Magdeburg.

and if the jurists participating in the Hamburg trial had been allowed to witness the proceedings.

[Wieland] This is the point we cannot go past any more.

[Question] Why not?

[Wieland] The statutory judge in the Weissgerber case is in Magdeburg. The criminal now is in Hamburg. In no state in the world (I'll disregard here the fascist dictatorships) is the criminal secure from an extradition request on the part of the GDR—with one exception: in the Federal Republic. So if I support the Weissgerber proceedings in Hamburg, I run the risk of a third state, where Weissgerber might reappear at some later date, confronting me with this supportive action. For us the Weissgerber case will remain an extradition matter until he is brought to trial in the GDR.

[Question] Other socialist states, e.g. Poland and the Soviet Union, accord to the Federal Republic what the GDR persistently withholds: the permission to examine on commission witnesses in the presence of West German judges, prosecutors and defense attorneys who may even ask questions. Why are you more orthodox than the Soviet Union?

[Wieland] In fact, I myself once accompanied a Hamburg jury court judge in the GDR. This sort of thing can easily be arranged. As compared with the Weissgerber case, however, there was a crucial difference: in that case, the presiding judge was looking for evidence concerning a Federal German citizen. In such matters, we proceed like our socialist brothers. For West German trials of Nazi criminals, we took measurements of Buchenwald, and we went to Sachsenhausen to conduct interrogations. In the Weissgerber case, however, your court claims a competence that according to GDR law it does not have.

[Question] In the GDR, is it really possible for someone to be convicted of murder, even though not a single witness testifies at the trial, the defendant remains silent and the judge has only a stack of minutes of proceedings conducted elsewhere?

[Wieland] I say that in such a case, the judge must make the abundant evidence the focus of his investigation. This is the first step. If he then feels there are contradictions, he must untangle the contradictions he thinks he has detected and he must rule on how they are to be cleared up. This is up to the prosecutor. In any event, he has to establish the facts of the case. You're absolutely right: He must do more than simply examine the papers before him; he has to establish the facts of the case.

[Question] In the Federal Republic, Weissgerber was imprisoned on remand for 1 year. Exactly why didn't your police arrest him previously, in the GDR? After all, after the murder, he was running loose there for 3 months.

[Wieland] This is certainly not the first murder that was solved only a year later. In German legal history, there have been murder cases that were solved after 200 years.

[Question] Was the criminological investigation really so difficult that after 3 months there was still no concrete suspicion?

[Wieland] At first, it was no more than a missing-person case. The body was not found until the summer of 1983.

[Question] But Jabusch and Weissgerber were questioned immediately after the disappearance of the victim. They were obviously suspected from the very beginning.

[Wieland] First of all, this proves that the GDR's legal system rests on a solid foundation. We do not make arrests right off the bat, according to the motto: Hurry up--we'll get the evidence later. It also shows why Weissgerber left the GDR: Things were getting too hot for him.

[Przybylski] Without a corpse, there is no trial in this country, either. I for my part never saw a trial without a body.

[Question] Mr. Wieland, one more time we would like to quote from your commentary. You wrote the GDR could "not leave be" the Weissgerber case. What is the GDR going to do?

[Wieland] While I cannot go into detail, I can tell you that the GDR perceives and has certain possibilities. Naturally, we cannot do anything within the borders of the Federal Republic of Germany.

[Question] What else can you do?

[Wieland] We can request extradition of other states, if Weissgerber appears there.

[Question] This would require extradition agreements with the states he could escape to.

[Wieland] Wrong. I know a criminal who in a Western state was included in a list of wanted criminals. It is true that some other states do not have an extradition agreement with the GDR, but he would not be admitted there.

[Question] Apparently you are referring to the GDR soldier Weinhold, who during his escape to the Federal Republic shot and killed two comrades and who after a lot of fuss was sentenced in our country to 5 1/2 years' imprisonment.

[Wieland] It possibly is Weinhold.

[Question] Let us assume Weissgerber goes to Canada or to the United States. What possibilities are there for you to have him apprehended or extradited?

[Wieland] I feel you greatly underestimate us. You probably know that recently some individuals were expelled from the United States and from Canada. Can't you imagine that these expulsions might to some extent be attributable to GDR evidence?

[Question] That's possible, but they surely were not expelled to the GDR.

[Wieland] We had not made any extradition request.

[Question] Let us assume Mr Weissgerber stands in front of the New York Statue of Liberty and says: Well, if you can, come and take me to the GDR. That is going to be difficult.

[Wieland] For him or for us?

[Question] For you.

[Wieland] That remains to be seen. At any rate, it is not as difficult as in Hamburg.

[Question] Could the Weissgerber case possibly influence the decision as to whether or not the chairman of the Council of State, Erich Honecker, will visit the Federal Republic?

[Wieland] I hope you understand that we cannot comment on this question. It simply is outside our competence.

[Question] Mr Przybylski, Mr Wieland, we thank you for this interview.

8760

CSO: 2300/646



STATE SUPPORTS SHRINKING JEWISH COMMUNITY

Zuerich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 22 Sep 84 pp 42-44

[Article by C. Girardet: "Jews in the GDR - A Minority Dying Out?"]

[Text] It is Friday evening; Sabbath has begun for all Jews around the world, including the barely more than 200 members of the Jewish community in East Berlin. Yet only 15 believers are setting out for the East Berlin synagogue. It lies hidden on a backyard in the old workers' neighborhood of Prenzlauer Berg on Rykestrasse. Through a wide gate adorned with the metal sign that says "People's Solidarity," they disappear without a sound and assemble in a small room next-door to the closed-up temple. Lay cantor Oljean Ingster, a retired merchant, runs the service, in Hebrew. Only a few know how to join the ritual chant. Earnest and care-worn faces watch the hoary guide of these "last of the just" administer the service. Not one of them wears a tallis, only five wear skullcaps, while the others wear ordinary hats. This is a normal Sabbath in East Berlin. The gates of the big synagogue are opened only on high holidays. Exactly 40 years after the "Crystal Night," when Hitler's Germany set the torch to all synagogues, in 1978, after being extensively renovated with state funds, it was handed back, as a splendid cult institution, to the East Berlin community. For special holidays a rabbi from Budapest or a cantor from West Berlin comes here. Then, almost the only prominent person, author Stefan Heym comes too.

In Magdeburg, a stereo set substitutes for the lay cantor. The same is true of other Jewish congregations in the GDR. They too may see on the occasion of high holidays only a cantor from Hungary. If the Jewish congregations in Hungary did not constantly help the small Jewish community in the GDR, its religious life would be still worse-off.

Actually, a religious Jewish life no longer exists in the GDR. Half of the 200 members of the East Berlin congregation are far beyond 60 years of age. Often these people are marked by illness and disability, after-effects of their horrible past. Jewish weddings, circumcisions and the Bar Mitzvahs have by now assumed a museum-like rarity. In the last 10 years, East Berlin did not have a single circumcision, in the last 20 years, not one wedding. Only funerals are frequent, one or two per month.

Each year East Berlin commemorates its 50,000 Jewish citizens, murdered by fascism. Then the chief cantor of West Berlin's Jewish congregation, Estrongo Nachama rushes to East Berlin, a permanent visa in his pocket, to assist in the official ceremony by prayer and chant. Next to him, FDJ members and Thaelmann pioneers stand as a guard of honor at the memorial rock at Grosse Hamburger Strasse which brings home that here the deportation transports were assembled that would then go to the camps of annihilation.

Here the GDR is generous because, gratuitously, Nachama hardly raises his voice to even up the antifascist propaganda. The GDR has to borrow the cantor from the West because since 1969 it has had no rabbi or cantor anymore. A year and a half ago, Chayim Mylus of Halle went on a state scholarship to Budapest to be trained as a cantor. From training its own rabbi, however, the GDR shies away, less probably for cost reasons than on account of political doubts.

The GDR pays a lot for preserving places of Jewish worship. New synagogues were built with state funds in Erfurt and Dresden. In other cities they were rehabilitated. This demonstrative concern for worship benefits the smallest religious minority in the GDR: in eight Jewish congregations still only 450 Jews survive today. Their number is shrinking incessantly but they are getting steady financial aid because the GDR needs Jewish communities as evidence for its manner of having coped with the past. Klaus Gysi, East Berlin's state secretary for church affairs, himself half Jewish, complained: "Honestly, it is too bad for us that the churches are doing well (8 million Protestants and 1 million Catholics at a population of 17 million) while the Jewish community has only a few members below the age of 25. That is unpleasant for us because we could be blamed for it although it is not our fault."

Including circa half of all Jews in the GDR, the East Berlin community is the largest. It receives M 170,000 annually for cultural and social purposes. With that the state also finances the GDR's only Jewish old-age home in East Berlin-Niederschöenhausen. In an old villa built around the turn of the century 40 old people can seek shelter. They are guaranteed kosher food and a life in their religious community there. Dr Peter Kirchner who as a little boy had to wear the Jewish star himself is a neurologist at the Herzberge Hospital in Berlin-Lichtenberg and has been the chairman of the Jewish community in East Berlin since 1971. He considers the state subsidies adequate.

For taking care of Jewish cemeteries in East Berlin (there are over 130 Jewish cemeteries in the GDR), the state puts up another M 150,000 per year. In spite of that, the community remains hopelessly overtaxed by the task of keeping Europe's largest cemetery in Berlin-Weissensee, with 115,000 grave sites, under horticultural care. Before 1933, 300 gardeners took care of the work on the cemetery, today only twelve are manning their lonely posts there. They cannot cope with the proliferating wilderness. The GDR government planned to build a highway through this cemetery. But the East Berlin city council had to stop that idea after protests from abroad became more emphatic and many foreign Jews threatened they would stop paying for taking care of the graves and the cemetery. The other famous Jewish cemetery at Schoenhauser Allee with its many art-historic monuments would have decayed long ago, had it not been for a single guardian of the cemetery who has sought, through infinite efforts and an admirable initiative of his own, to preserve this place of remembrance of the greatness of the Jewish spirit.

The seven other remaining communities, in Dresden, Erfurt, Halle, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Leipzig, Magdeburg and Schwerin, receive an estimated M 250,000. The state's generosity shown such a small group not only is a historic-political gesture, it also demands a very definite price. The association of Jewish communities in the GDR always again has to reiterate its loyalty to the SED state and its patriotic attitude toward the official anti-Israel policy through loyalty statements, by word of mouth and in writing. The NACHRICHTENBLATT DES VERBANDES DER JUEDISCHEN GEMEINDEN IN DER DDR, a quarterly publication, showing the emblem of the Star of David, hardly ever misses eulogies on the "rise of the socialist idea" or the "victorious Red Army that managed to eliminate anti-Semitism and pointed the way to the new life in freedom and humanity." The spokesmen of GDR Jewry, aware of their privileges, seldom miss addressing this state by their "cordial thank-you" while dedicating themselves to the fulfilment of the UN Resolution 242, which orders Israel back behind its 1967 borders.

One of the most striking among these spokesmen is Helmut Aris. The GDR heaped great honors on him when he had his 75th birthday on 11 May 1983. He has been the president of the association of Jewish communities in the GDR for 20 years. A member of the SED and a bearer of the Patriotic Order of Merit in Gold, he does not accept the saying: "If you're a Yid, you can be red, green, blue or white, can be a communist or a conservative, when you're a Yid." To him, all observant Jews in the GDR have to be faithful servants to socialist society. They are, according to Aris, integrated members of socialist society where the Nazi past, in contrast to the FRG, has been coped with. "There is no anti-Semitism in the GDR; it is a criminal offense," Aris affirms and, doing so, deliberately ignores that in his country basic trends of anti-Semitism also still were rampant after 1945 and are still alive in parts today. He wants to obliterate that even some Central Committee members like Otto Gotsche have not been without such resentments. Let alone Walter Ulbricht, formerly polemicizing against "Jewish exploiters," for instance in June 1930 at "Saalbau Friedrichshain," when he explained the KDP policy at the time. The state seized all the copies of his biography that made mention of that speech.

In accordance with SED doctrine, the citizens of Jewish faith have found their "true home" in communist Germany. What happens when this homeland loses its Jewish citizens? A natural dying out process threatens to turn this minority into a precarious museum-like remnant. Estimates are, however, that at least 10 times as many Jews live in the GDR as are officially registered in the communities.

Jews in the GDR are permanently under the suspicion of being secret partisans of Israel. Not a few of them have relatives in Israel. The son of the late chief ideologist of the SED Albert Norden lives there, for instance, whose father was a rabbi in Hamburg. In the GDR, where also Politburo member Hermann Axen and the notorious espionage chief Markus Wolf are important figures in the regime of Jewish descent, Israel remains a sensitive topic full of ambiguity about which GDR Jews rather hide their true opinion. There is no such a thing as a solidarity that would, above and beyond what separates them, unite all Jews in the GDR. "Jewish solidarity is a myth sprung and propagated in Nazi times; only the like-minded within Jewry feel solidarity with one another," a prominent GDR author said who is himself a non-observant half-Jew. To explain his own relation to Judaism, he quoted Ilya Ehrenburg, with whom he identified himself: "As long as there still is anti-Semitism in the world, I shall be a Jew."

Two thirds of the Jews in the GDR are older than 60 years. Too much stuck in their environment and perhaps also too weak for a new start, these senior members of the community hardly any longer contemplate leaving for the West or for Israel. The state that paid no lump-sum retribution gives every Jewish anti-fascist an honorary pension for life, far above normal pensions, and he also gets free rides on public transportation and is entitled to free regular health resort visits. The state also has maintained the kosher butcher shop at Eberswalder Strasse. That is the only one in the GDR. Twice a month a shochet comes from Budapest to slaughter 24 heads of cattle for observant Jews according to specifications. Only half of that goes to the butcher shop at Eberswalder Strasse. Every member of the Jewish community has a customer's certificate. On the days set aside for selling to the members of the congregation, the ten regular customers will show up. No more than these ten--the others either are too old or have no freezers. Only during the high holidays Jews living elsewhere come to East Berlin to buy meat. What there is in meat suffices still for the many Adventists living in the GDR. Furthermore, there are Moslem diplomats who may officially purchase there each Wednesday after 1300 hours. Then cabs are parked outside the shop, and the members of the diplomatic missions come out of the shop, their bags stuffed. For them, freezers are no problem.

In Oranienburger Strasse there stands as a ruin what used to be the biggest and most famous synagogue in Germany. Not far away is the splendid and monumental sacred structure of Berlin Cathedral competing with the governmental palaces of the regime, accentuating its ideological leadership claim. Where the Christian church may once again present its golden cross in public, the ruin in Oranienburger Strasse now is also meant to be restored at government expense, at least its facade. A monument preservation symbol for a none but museum-like future of a dying minority?

5885

CSO: 2300/669

## ROLE OF MILITARY IN POLITICAL SYSTEM DESCRIBED

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 7, Jul 84 pp 40-44

[Article by Prof Mariusz Gulczynski: "The Military in the Political System of the Polish People's Republic (Experiences from the Years of the Crisis)"]

[Text] The military, always an important element in a political system, currently plays a decisive role in our country with regard to national existence and the functioning of the state. The bases of this state of affairs are rather obvious. They include the requirement to overcome economic crisis and sociopolitical conflict--on the largest scale ever in People's Poland--which have been further complicated by a Western retreat from the policy of detente and exacerbation of tensions in its relations with the socialist East. Hence the objective necessity to increase drastically the presence and active participation of the armed forces in our society. They are by nature and by law called upon to defend the nation and the state when their security or existence are threatened by the intensification of external and internal conflicts.

This state of affairs imposes an obligation to go beyond a routine description of the place of the armed forces in the Polish political system in general, and to analyze its special position characterizing the present situation and, in this context, to assess whether the growing role of the military is compatible with the logic of our system and the pertinent legal norms of our state.

I believe that it is possible to approach these questions by analyzing the following three aspects:

- functions of the armed forces in our country;
- institutional forms and ways of meeting the general tasks of the armed forces, and especially their temporarily increased scope;
- ideological and political outlook of our armed forces, which substantially influences the ways in which their functions are understood and carried out.

The functions of the Polish People's Army have a twofold character. First, those which constitute the primary reason for its existence impose on it the inalienable duty to defend the Polish People's Republic against threats of external aggression, internal disorders exceeding the ability of the militia and the security services to preserve public order, and disfunctions of the important components of the state.

Besides these primary functions, the army also fulfills other purposes which constitute important complements to the activities of other components of our system, namely educational and economic functions.

The manner of fulfilling the task of defending against threats of external aggression is determined by the fact that our army acts together with the armed forces of members of the Warsaw Pact. This is possible thanks to a multifaceted convergence of interests of these countries. These include the identity of their political systems and, consequently, the common threat posed by antisocialist forces; common interest in the permanence of the political borders in Europe which were shaped as a result of the Second World War; and persistent advocacy of peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries, limitation and reduction of arms and international tension, as well as preferring to resolve international conflicts by negotiation.

The defensive power of the Warsaw Pact determines the fact that the manner in which this function is carried out by our armed forces has a primarily preventive character. It focuses on maintaining the defensive preparedness of our army as an integral part of the defense forces of the system of socialist states. It manifests itself in peaceful missions in connection with the enforcement of ceasefire agreements in various regions of the world (altogether, over 13,000 Polish People's Army soldiers have taken part in these peacemaking activities). Finally, and especially important, it manifests itself in insuring the effectiveness of the state defense system, which constitutes an important element of the integrated defense system of the socialist alliance of states belonging to the Warsaw Pact.

Changes occurring in this realm tend to increase the responsibilities of the Polish armed forces due to the convergence of two types of phenomena. On the one hand, there is a growing threat to international peace and the security of Poland as a result of growing interest on the part of certain powerful forces in the capitalist countries in reversing the policy of detente, exacerbating tensions in relations with the socialist countries, and again accelerating the arms race. On the other hand, there is a long-lasting internal Polish economic crisis of uncommon depth, together with the related sociopolitical conflict, which threatens to weaken our defense capability and hence the fulfillment of Poland's role as a part of the socialist defense system.

The realities of contemporary international relations make the return to a desired status of detente possible only if the consequences of the tension-building policies of the West are neutralized. Historical experience proves

that the only effective means of convincing the enemies of our system, who at the same time are also our partners in co-existence on this planet, to give up their war-mongering and cold-war policy of tension is by acting to negate their calculations of benefits, and to produce effects contrary to their desires. This requires countries in the socialist defense system to be persistent in offering disarmament negotiations and peaceful cooperation, and at the same time to strengthen their defense.

For our country, the strategy of defensive policy must mean a combination of military activities with respect to the army's defense function against external aggression with its engagement in overcoming the internal political conflict. This is dictated not only by the need to preserve internal peace and defend socialist organizations and institutions endangered by the conflict, but also by the need to restore the defense capability of our country and to dash the hopes of antisocialist centers in the West contingent on antagonizing of relations within the Polish society.

The participation of the military in overcoming internal conflicts is a characteristic of every army in every system. The Polish People's Army was also used for this purpose when an intensification of social antagonisms took the form of public disorder on a scale which exceeded the ability of the militia and public security organs to control it. In the history of People's Poland the most important instance of such military activity was its participation in the struggle against the armed underground in the late 1940's. We also find sporadic instances of military participation in quelling disorders in later years, in connection with the conflicts in 1956, 1968 and 1970.

A positive assessment of solving Polish conflicts by our own efforts is tied to a critical verification of the manner in which force was used by the civilian party-state leadership, particularly in 1970. Nevertheless, the conclusions drawn from these experiences doubtlessly influenced the fact that the overcoming of the conflict which began in the summer of 1980 was free of similar perversions in the use of force.

Despite an incomparably greater degree of antagonism in political relations than ever before, the scope of attacks on the organs of state power, and the anarchization of social climate, a very real danger of a civil-war type of conflict was avoided. The necessary disciplining of society was achieved by resorting to constitutionally authorized ways of dealing with such threats, namely the imposition of martial law in the whole country. The means, characteristic of martial law, of imposing discipline [on those who] violated legal norms were combined with consistent efforts to remove sources of social tensions by reforming political and economic system.

The military's taking on the tasks connected with overcoming disfunctions in important components of the state organism is also a phenomenon known in every political system. The performance of this function is predicated on two kinds of exigencies. The first involves the necessity to insure the

functionality of the state organism necessary to preserve the defense capabilities of the country. The second follows from the fact that the military is an immanent component of the interdependent system of the state and is thus obligated to support other parts if they are threatened by the antagonization of internal conflicts or by their own degeneration.

The takeover of this function by the Polish People's Army began to take place even before the introduction of martial law, most characteristically by the dispatch of military operational groups to gminas and towns with the goal of overcoming the paralysis of administrative organs and economic entities on that level. With the proclamation of martial law, the military presence in this realm was extended to all key units of the state and economic administration. Military activities had multifaceted character, namely:

- preventive--directed toward disabling and neutralizing anarchistic and antisocialist forces;
- stimulative--intending to stimulate and inspire administrative, political and economic authorities to act constructively in various areas of social and political life, to seek new solutions, including the application of military examples adaptable to civilian life, overcoming outworn schemes and bureaucratization;
- interventionist--attempting to restore the socialist principles of social justice in our life, especially in the functioning of the organs of state administration, overcoming low morale among some of their personnel and their indifference to social problems, and making the most urgent decisions concerning financial and welfare problems of citizens;
- control--uncovering and fighting all kinds of abuses, inefficiency, favoritism, neglect and waste;
- postulational--proposing better solutions to aid the reform of the economic and political system;
- ideological and educational--oriented toward a restoration of citizens' trust in the socialist political system of our country, encouraging faith in the possibility of overcoming the crisis and a gradual reform of political and economic structures, unmasking and fighting anarchistic, antisocialist forces.

Achieving the tasks implied in the functions discussed above also created conditions for the restoration of efficiency in the civilian elements of state and economic administration and, consequently, for a gradual withdrawal of armed forces from their broad engagement in this kind of activity.

The economic and educational functions performed by the Polish People's Army are important complements of activities of other institutions and organizations which are primarily involved in these tasks. The educational activities of



our army deserve special emphasis. Their results have been validated by the immunity of our armed forces to the influence of anarchist and antisocialist propaganda, which was particularly intense before the introduction of martial law. Due to this immunity, the armed forces proved to be an efficient element of the socialist political system of the Polish People's Republic, insusceptible to moral and political crisis. This was a decisive factor in our ability to halt the escalation of political conflict through the power of our own army. It performed difficult and complex tasks in a way which gained the understanding and acceptance of the majority of society.

The institutional forms and methods of performing its tasks in general, and their temporarily broadened scope in particular, are another indicator of the place of the army in the political system of the Polish People's Republic.

The Polish People's Army is an important element of the executive power of our state. According to Article 10 of the Constitution, it is called upon to defend "the sovereignty and independence of the Polish nation, its security and peace."

In accordance with the Constitution, the army acts as an integral element of the organs of state administration, subject, like all other, to the legislative and control authority of the Sejm and the Council of the State, and to the executive authority of the Council of Ministers, which exercises "general oversight with respect to defense of the country and the organization of the armed forces of the Polish People's Republic." (article 41, point 10 of the Constitution.)

The growing activity of the army in connection with overcoming the crisis took place in accordance with the constitutional rule which states that "the Council of the State can impose martial law in part or all of the territory of the Polish People's Republic, if considerations of the defense or security of the state so demand." (article 33, point 2.)

The decree of the Council of the State concerning martial law increased the tasks set before military institutions, especially the National Defense Committee [KOK]. It is significant that not only was martial law proclaimed by a constitutionally empowered authority, refuting allegations of a military coup, but also that its imposition did not entail the liquidation of civilian authorities, which is characteristic of military dictatorships. Constituted as the administrator of martial law, the Military Council of National Salvation unequivocally proclaimed in the first pronouncement of its chairman on 13 December 1981: "It does not pretend to supplant constitutional authorities. Its only purpose is to defend the law and to create executive guarantees which will make possible the restoration of order and discipline." This was fully confirmed by practice in the following months.

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic not only did not cease its activities, but intensified them to meet urgent demands and possibilities created by the

calming of social tensions and conflicts. As a result, during the period of martial law, 14 plenary sessions of the Sejm took place, passing 57 bills which created legal basis for the reform of our political and economic system.

Civilian institutions of the state and economic administration were not liquidated, as is characteristic of military dictatorships, and no substitution of military institutions for civilian ones took place. The necessary restoration of their efficiency, undermined by a degeneration of a part of the apparatus, and weakened by a wave of attacks launched against them between August 1980 and December 1981, which interfered with their functioning, was reinforced by the military through a system of plenipotentiaries, characteristic of martial law, representing the National Defense Committee, such as military commissars, military operational groups and military inspections. Overall, these activities involved 2150 military commissars and 7339 soldiers participating in operational groups and inspection crews. Considering their effect, these numbers are surprisingly small and prove the exclusively supportive role of the military.

The institution of military commissars--plenipotentiaries of the National Defense Committee--was created on the basis of the Law Concerning the General Duty to Defend the Polish People's Republic, which envisions such a solution in the event of martial law. A KOK resolution appointed military commissars on all levels of state administration and in some economic production units. In accordance with the proclamation of the Military Council for National Salvation of 13 December 1981, military commissars became representatives of the council and acted on its behalf. Their basic task was to supervise the carrying out of the tasks set by the Military Council for National Salvation and central organs of the government and state administration. They were also charged with helping the organs to which they had been dispatched in carrying out their tasks, in particular securing the needs of the armed forces; the functioning of transport, communication and energy systems; supervision of the militarization of certain sectors of the national economy; insuring social discipline and compliance with martial law regulations; securing supplies of basic goods; fighting speculation, waste and inefficiency.

The commissars were empowered and made responsible for the control of tasks carried out by the executive branches of institutions to which they were delegated as well as organizational units reporting to those institutions. In particular, they were to uncover and overcome instances of bureaucratic deformations, neglect of social needs, abuses of official positions for private gain, and the emergence of informal "buddy" deals.

Operational field groups began their activity even before the imposition of martial law, on 26 October 1981. The positive results of their work were confirmed by a favorable attitude toward them among large parts of society which were interested in overcoming the paralysis of the local units of state administration. Altogether there were 850 groups, consisting of three to four soldiers. At the same time 191 operational groups, consisting of

anywhere from 10 to several dozen military personnel, worked in large cities. There were 170 groups, consisting of a few persons each, which had control as the sole task; they checked the carrying out of tasks in 322 workplaces. An important element of military activity in restoring the efficiency of civilian administration were comprehensive audits of entire provinces through inspection visits by the armed forces.

As a result of the activities of military commissars, as well as the military operational and inspection groups, in 1059 workplaces, 1064 gminas and 124 big city centers, the surmounting of negative phenomena was accelerated with regard to the composition of their personnel, the adaptation of ways of functioning in units of state and economic administration to current conditions, and the strategic necessity of reforming our system. The most visible example involved 889 personnel changes in management positions, including 14 provincial governors, 51 vice governors, 34 city mayors, and 433 heads of towns and gminas.

At the same time, there was progress in the process of broadening the social base of state authorities. With regard to the Sejm, this process involved the establishment of the Socioeconomic Council as a permanent advisory body. With regard to the government, members of allied parties and Catholic associations were more widely included. Military participation in the process of overcoming the crisis in civilian institutions resulted in a broader recruitment of cadres from this source for executive positions, ministers, provincial governors, and directors of state and economic institutions. It took the form of delegating certain officers to civilian tasks, without, however, permanent militarization of a given institution. The army is by no means the main source of supply of managers--a majority of personnel changes in the civilian state and economic administration has taken place through the promotion of civilians.

The key element of the political system of the Polish People's Republic is the Polish United Workers Party. By constitutional provision (article 3, point 1), the PZPR is "the leading political force in society in building socialism." Thus the drama of the current crisis was displayed through distortions which were an objective reason for the PZPR not being up to its constitutional and statutory tasks. This was demonstrated by a split between the party and important segments of the working class, forcing them to fight for their interests against the party in alliance with forces hostile to it.

The Polish Army took part in overcoming the crisis in this crucial element of our political system in two ways. The first, as described above, consisted in creating an external shield against attacks aimed at eliminating the party from political life, and especially from the workplaces. The second involved the party orientation of the army, especially its professional corps, which characterizes the socialist system. The very fact that an absolute majority of professional officers belongs to the PZPR determined that the military treated the growth of their responsibilities as their party duty to defend socialist achievements and to create conditions for their further development. This military attitude also played an important role in rectifying the distortions in the party through its own efforts.

The ideological and political outlook of the Polish People's Army was demonstrated by its understanding and performance of increased tasks, and the growth of institutional forms and methods of action described above. However, the picture would not be complete without an attempt to explain why the military had not yielded to ideological and moral corrosion, as was the case with other key elements of our political system. On the one hand, this was precisely a factor which helped the military to preserve the trust of dominant sections of society, and to retain the necessary support for its actions. On the other hand, it enabled the army to carry out its increased obligations, including the overcoming of internal paralysis in civilian institutions.

I believe that among the objective reasons for this phenomenon one should principally count the fact that the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic did not approach detente with the West idealistically, as an elimination of threats to the socialist system and the security of our borders. Among other elements of our political system, detente ultimately became transformed into ideological, economic and political slackness, an assumption that a policy of peaceful coexistence, doubtlessly the best one for us, would last indefinitely and deepen all the time. The striving to exploit peaceful coexistence for the strengthening and deepening of socialist transformations was abandoned; instead, it gave way to a predilection to "catch up" with Western patterns of life and consumption. This became an important source of retreat from the principles of socialist justice, of the loss of distinctiveness of system-civilizational progress, and, consequently, of a growing economic and cultural dependence on the capitalist West.

There was no such slack in the realm of defense policy. Hence the consciousness that we can count on detente only in a limited way and for a limited time, i.e., as long as dominant bourgeois circles were interested in such policy. Thus the army did not undergo an ideological and moral crisis like other important elements of the political system of the Polish People's Republic.

The class composition of the armed forces has an important influence on the social conditions which constitute the reason for this. Our army is now an all-national one, because of the constitutional duty of military service (article 92). At the same time, the special nature of the army's position and the rules of cadre selection make the core of the army, its professional commissioned and non-commissioned officer corps, overwhelmingly from peasant and worker families. For most of society, this favors treating the military as its own, organized part, which acts in the name and interest of the nation. At the same time it determines the reverse feeling of responsibility for the fate of the nation, and especially its primary social classes, which by tradition and law attaches to the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic.

Summing up the analysis of the place of the army in the political system of the Polish People's Republic, in the special conditions of international

tensions, internal crisis, and related sociopolitical tensions, it can be said that the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic:

- have performed functions appropriate to situations of this kind, necessary for the defense of the state, and for the restoration of public order and efficiency of all organs of our state as well as key political organizations;
- undertook these tasks in conformity with the constitution, on orders from appropriate central organs of the state, and under their control;
- created an institutional system of administration of martial law which did not eliminate or replace civilian organs of the state and economic administration, and was conducive to overcoming their internal deformations and to reconstructing external conditions for their normal functioning;
- actively supported the surmounting of the crisis in the party, and the rebirth of a system of pro-socialist political, social and professional organizations, including the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] as the broadest platform for activity by the citizens.

All these actions aimed at creating conditions which would enable the military "to return to the barracks," i.e., to limit the scope of functions and institutional burdens borne by the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic to proportions characteristic of a situation in which internal crisis or conflict are absent. For it is indisputable that the state of tension and crisis had become above all the most difficult duty of the Polish People's Army since the war, burdening it with tasks of unprecedented weight and complexity. The army, its professional cadre and citizens drafted for military service, was objectively not interested in the prolongation of this situation, all the more so since every historical experience proves that civilian affairs cannot in the long run be solved by military methods. The limits of effectiveness of military actions are most familiar to the military itself. Both the consistency of the army's actions toward the creation of conditions for "the return to the barracks" and the initiation of legal acts limiting the rigors of martial law, and later its suspension and repeal as soon as internal peace created this opportunity, prove that this tendency has been dominant in our army.

Nevertheless, the return to a normal situation was not a simple comeback because the vital lessons of the Polish way of overcoming the gravest of our crises will remain both in the army and the society. An important part of this experience includes a deeper knowledge of functions of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic, and the institutional forms in which they are performed and which determine the place of the army in our political system, in the broad and narrow sense.

Moreover, there is no lack of voices which advocate that "the return to the barracks" should not become a complete withdrawal of the military from activities

and influence on the civilian structures of our state. "The most important achievement of the army during martial law was to shake up petrified local relationships," wrote Jerzy Klechta in RADAR, 13 October 1983. "I share the fears of those who say that now, when everything can return to 'normal,' the center will not be able to keep abreast of things. Let us frankly state that the variety of valuable decisions made by the hard-working government of W. Jaruzelski has often been thwarted by local setups which, being well entrenched, sometimes proved stronger than the army. It is they, the bottom, and not only the Central Committee and the government, who are creating socialism in Poland. The final outcome depends on their attitude toward socialism, an attitude which determines whether faith in the socialist road in Poland will grow or diminish."

Taking into account the dangers of the "return to normal," i.e., to the local state and economic administration as it was before the crisis, and thus prone to engender crises in the future, I proposed at the conference of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Ministry of National Defense, convened to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Army, to augment worker-peasant control, envisioned by the resolution of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, with a third element, namely the soldiers. It is significant that this proposal has found support among both workers and peasants. Such an addition would relieve the organs of such control from "servicing" officials delegated by civilian and economic administrations which are the main objects of this control. Such "servicing" must blunt the edge of the control. The military complement would give control the necessary efficiency, assured by the experience of military control, and the force to enable proposals to be carried out. I am thus in favor of control exercised by workers, peasants, and soldiers, and consequently against a full "return to the barracks," so that there is no need to "come out of the barracks" again to dampen another conflict. For prevention is, also in this realm, the most rational kind of cure.

12503

CSO: 2600/1180

## BORDER GUARD PERSONNEL, ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED

### Career of Political Officer

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 24, 10 Jun 84 pp 6,7

[Profile of a Border Guard Troops officer, Major Zdzislaw Szwocher, by Boleslaw Jagielski: "One Needs Character"]

[Text] Service along land frontiers poses high demands, but has a charm of its own. Nature is, after all, unpolluted there, one can watch the landscape and breathe the fresh air: prose mingles with poetry.

But it is different at those sectors of the frontier which are marked by the decks of foreign-flag vessels moored in our harbors, where no border marker divides Polish territory from the extraterritorial space formed by those vessels. Here one deals with prose, and nothing but prose, often in its extreme version.

One of those 40-year old contemporaries of People's Poland, Major Zdzislaw Szwocher, deputy commanding officer of the frontier unit of the WOP [Border Guard Troops] Pomeranian Brigade, could tell us a lot about it. What is, after all, so romantic when soldiers in greenrimmed caps are on military duty on piers when bulk-cargo ships load coal or unload ore, where tankers unload heating oil or load fertilizer? During the loading, soldiers have to wear goggles and dustmasks, and elsewhere hardhats marked "WOP." And all that during a full 6 hours of duty at one's post, usually manned by two soldiers, so that from time to time one or the other can go aside and smoke a cigarette.

Being on duty here requires not only top physical condition, but also, if not above all, top mental condition. Crews of foreign-flag vessels tend to be generous. Accepting their gifts, even if it is just a cigarette, might be interpreted as a sign of readiness to ignore some shady deal, it might--worse luck!--set in motion some kind of political provocation.

Major Szwocher already knew all about this when he was enrolled in the WOP officers school at Ketrzyn, and certainly when as a cadet he first got involved with the specific character of harbor duty. Unlike some others, who had decided they preferred duty at a [frontier toll] barrier, he, however, did not lose heart. Given the choice between land and sea border, he has opted for the latter, and what is more, picked out its most difficult spot, the harbors.

By now he has served nearly 20 years, and one can only add that he has done his duty not only without a blemish (which by itself is a life achievement), but in an exemplary fashion. For that one needs character, and Major Szwocher has forged his own as a young amateur athlete (once, inspired by a prospect of a furlough, he long-jumped 6.5 meters in his boots), and subsequently as an instructor of his subordinates and--generally speaking--as a humanist, an aficionado of modern history and art, as his steadily growing home library bears witness--this is by now his only hobby, since he has given up active sports, although he still encourages soldiers to follow in his footsteps. But is it really his only hobby? After all, he has a wife and a couple of kids, as well as his garden plot....

Szczecin is not his home town, even though he has learned to love it very much. He was born in tiny Kcynia, where his father used to work in the local dairy (and for several terms was secretary of the PZPR basic organization; before that, during the occupation, he had been a resistance fighter); he went to school in not-much-bigger Naklo on the Notec River, where he attended a teachers college.

Had he graduated to be a teacher, he would have taught children history and Polish. Having decided to become an officer, he had to continue his own studies: to learn not only the military arts, but all that sociopolitical studies encompass, as well as foreign languages. That is mandatory because of the specifics of WOP service. On duty he served first as a line officer, including a platoon commander in a rear unit, and later became a political officer.

In this service, however, the distinction between line and political officers seems purely formal. Here many regular soldiers have to combine expertise in both branches. It could not be otherwise, since sea and air ports (and land border crossings as well) are usually regarded as "showcases," and WOP soldiers on duty there are called "ambassadors" of our country....

An "ambassador" has to be well fed; hence, in addition to other meals, a meal is partaken just before going on duty. He has to be warmly clad, since most of the time the piers are hellishly windy. He has to be able to warm up or to quench his thirst; hence in bad weather hot coffee in a thermos (unfortunately, just ersatz coffee, even though in harbors the aroma of genuine coffee seems all-permeating), and during heat waves, tea or fruit cocktail, made of fruits grown in an orchard next to the watchtower. Finally, if he is in charge of a patrol, he carries a log-book case with a writing pad and a torch, or else a radiotelephone if he is second in command. All this is in addition, of course, to his personal weapon, a RAK machine pistol. An "ambassador's" well-being is a matter of constant concern to his superior officers, both at the watchtower and at the unit level; among those responsible is the deputy commanding officer for political affairs.

The patrol's task consists of not overlooking anything that might occur at the point of contact between the pier and the vessel, all along the shipside, which sometimes is several hundred meters long, both a port and a weather. The task is discharged jointly by the patrol's commander and by his subordinate;



they maintain eye-contact almost permanently. The former has more responsibility, he has a lot of paperwork to do, but he gets no preferential treatment on that account--he has to stand "his due watch." However, should he be demoted to a subordinate's duty, it would be for him the harshest punishment imaginable, just as the harshest punishment for the other patrolman would be a discharge from border duty to, say, the rear echelon. It is not an easy duty, but a compelling one....

Major Szwocher, who has contributed a lot to the fact that WOP soldiers are what they are, has fallen in love with the service. This happened, inter alia, thanks to his superior officers, such as, for instance, Lt Col Wilk, who many years ago, still as a lieutenant, was a platoon commander in the Ketrzyn officers school; Major Szafirski, former officer commanding of the watchtower; Lt Col Kuliga, known as the man who has trained several generations of WOP soldiers; or Lt Col Szen from the brigade headquarters. On the other hand, this is also due to the sympathetic, friendly relationship between the WOP soldiers and the civilians who cooperate with them, in this case the dockers, the custom officers, and the guards.

It is only about the sailors, in particular the crews of foreign-flag vessels, that he cannot find much good to say. It is generally known that a sailor looks for fun at night.... He can cause a lot of trouble when he returns aboard from his fun-seeking, and has problems with producing his ID card, to say nothing about those who are not only carousers, but professional agents--provocateurs. Hence the need for 24-hour duty by officers as well (Major Szwocher has such spells of around-the-clock duty every few days), to provide, by night in particular, assistance to lonely WOP soldiers on the piers, and to overcome brawlers--by verbal arguments, by his entire bearing. In such cases one has to act somehow like [the legendary Captain] Klos, who used to tell his adversary: "None of those tricks with me, Bruner." And since Major Szwocher is, as they say, a regular guy, it usually suffices. Usually, not always. It does happen that a major operation becomes necessary, an action undertaken not by WOP soldiers alone, but with their participation. It might even be necessary to board ship if there is a well-founded suspicion that somebody from outside the crew (a "stowaway") had hidden there.

Major Szwocher and other regular officers--from the watchtower, the unit, or the brigade--are prepared for such contingencies as well. Their words, "Good morning, we are the border guards..." do not mean that they are supposed to be nice to people--to put it mildly--without character....

#### Activities of Sea Brigade

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 24, 10 Jun 84 pp 7, 10

[Article by Zbigniew Damski: "Here the Watch Goes On"]

[Excerpts] The first line, drawn on a sea chart and closely following the coast at a 12-mile distance, is the border of the Polish territorial waters. Further on, much further, deep into the Baltic Sea to the north, another line zigzags whimsically: that is the limit of the economic zone of the Polish People's Republic.

And while on charts everything can be clearly seen, over there, at sea, there are no "landmarks," no border stones for orientation and finding out whether this place is still "ours," or is no longer.

Only bearings remain. A precise fixing based on the art of navigation and on instrumentation, of the proper position at sea and a comparison of the latter with the charts.

"Our navy vessels at all times must know their position precisely," says Lt Cmdr Ryszard Urbanski. "Fisherman, on the other hand, do not always pay attention to details. Neither do those from foreign-flag vessels. Hence incursions into our zone, when everything depends on whether such an incursion has been deliberate or not...."

All is clear if a foreign vessel fishes our waters and is caught redhanded. That is not easy, because a patrol boat can be seen from afar, and there is time enough to efface all traces of the offense, but sometimes the culprits can be taken by surprise.

"Such cases are rare and rather troublesome," explains Lt Cmdr Urbanski. "The guilt of the detainees has to be proven. We need evidence. Prime evidence is a declaration, endorsed by the foreign skipper's own signature, which fixes the position of the vessel and shows that he had entered our fishing zone. It helps if he had already set up his nets or brought the catch aboard, but even then everything has yet to be investigated and proven in court...."

Everything found within the limits of the Polish economic zone is, after all, our joint national patrimony, and has to be safeguarded. The sea borders of the country--within the line running at a 12-mile distance from the coast--have to be watched as well; "territorial waters" are part and parcel of the republic.

Foreign vessels sometimes try to penetrate our waters, ships or yachts try to enter waters temporarily or permanently closed to shipping. We chase the perpetrators, but those are touchy affairs which require from our officers an in-depth knowledge of the law and the rules. There is after all a "right of free navigation" which allows foreign vessels to ply our territorial waters, but under certain conditions only: everything is all right as long as they abide by those conditions....

Complex problems. In any case, those readers who have hoped to find here some descriptions of hot pursuit of enemy vessels trying to invade our waters, of clever entrapments and other bloodcurdling plots, are bound to be cruelly disappointed. Those times are over. Those who should be feared most, those most interested in wreaking havoc, do not entrust their fates to the nightly sea or to speedy motorboats; they rather prefer to cross our borders openly, with all the necessary documents.

"That is true," concludes Lt Cmdr Urbanski. "But that is also due to the fact that those potential enemies are well aware (as they have probably found out more than once...) that our navy vessels are always at sea, that one

can meet them everywhere, at all times of the day. They simply know that we are always on the alert. Such a state of affairs makes some people think twice, even though it does not entirely rule out all possible attempts of this kind...."

Prophylactics--that is how, in most general terms, it can be best described, but operations obviously require major effort.

"Nowadays, the surveillance of our sea borders is a hard task," Lt Cmdr Ryszard Urbanski later adds. "In just 1 year, 1983, the naval vessels of our border subdivision covered tens of thousands of sea miles and spent 1,587 days at sea, keeping watch over our borders."

The subdivision is a considerable taskforce of multiple units adapted to various tasks. Most of the ships are smart, well armed, and rapid "300's," made in Polish shipyards, but there are also plenty of smaller patrol boats, cutters, and auxiliary vessels.

"The quality of our ships is very important," says the commanding officer. "But the most important thing is the quality of our crews."

The crews are tested in everyday duty. Each day at least some vessels are at sea, each ship in the subdivision spends at least 14 days a month out of its harbor; there are also all-out training inspections. One such inspection took place last year, during national maneuvers. The "KPa-169" did well, but the "311," commanded by Captain Andrzej Dabrowski, was the best.

"...and particular attention should be paid to the fact," says the commanding officer, "that the '311' was about to be mothballed; anybody who has owned an old, worn-out car, for instance, will understand what that has meant to the crew and to the skipper. For such a vessel to be qualified 'the best' is a major achievement; it was accomplished by a skipper younger than his ship...."

Captain Andrzej Dabrowski is now in command of a new ship, the "318." Just now she is moored at the pier, but preparing to go out to sea: will he manage to keep the top position he won with his former ship?

"We shall wait and see...."

Duty under the green-rimmed flag demands from officers--in addition to faultless mastery of the navigational arts--many other very specialized capabilities and skills. They acquire the basic know-how in the Naval Academy, and the rest in various courses and in practice. Before becoming secretary of the party organization in the subdivision, and later, in December 1983, the deputy commander for political affairs, Lt Zbigniew Sulima had also started his service aboard a navy vessel.

"...Our tasks are additionally complicated by the fact that we are on duty in perhaps the most crowded and most frequented waters of the Baltic Sea," says Lt Sulima. "In my opinion, that is why our brigade was awarded such a name-sake as Lt Cmdr Franciszek Dabrowski...."

In the headquarters of the Sea Brigade of Border Navy Vessels, Lt Cmdr Stanislaw Wyczachowski presents Staff Ensign Zygfryd Ptach. I know them both: the former is in charge of all the cultural activities in the brigade, the latter, an amateur film-maker and photographer, has won many awards.

"...We will have a documentary film about our patron. We have already collected a lot of material."

Good idea. Provided they make the film with the same integrity and professional know-how they have been able to display--and go on displaying!--on duty along the maritime borders under the green-rimmed flag....

#### Cooperation With State Administration

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jun 84 p 2

[Text] Cooperation between local organs of state administration in the border regions and units of the Border Guard Troops [WOP] was discussed on 12 June during a meeting between General Wlodzimierz Oliwa, minister of administration and land-use management, and General Feliks Stranik, the WOP commanding officer. The need to tighten up cooperation between administrative organs and WOP units was stressed, in particular with regard to solving local socioeconomic problems, maintaining law and order in the border areas, and initiating and undertaking joint socioeconomic ventures.

12485

CSO: 2600/1266

ZYGULSKI DISCUSSES CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS FOR UPCOMING YEAR

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14, 15-16 Sep 84

/14 Sep 84 p 3/

/Interview with Prof Kazimierz Zygulski, minister of culture and art, by Zdzislaw Zaryczny/

/Text/ A new cultural-educational 1984-85 year is beginning--the 40th one in independent People's Poland. What will it bring? Will it be better than the preceding one? What sort of policy does the head of the Ministry of Culture intend to follow? We are asking these questions of Minister Kazimierz Zygulski.

/Question/ What expectations do you have for this new cultural-educational year?

/Answer/ In my opinion, it is beginning to outline itself as the continuation of a process which we have been witnessing for several years now--one which is quite difficult but at the same time clearly aimed, and which brings with it changes in all of the social and economic life of the country. In the field of culture, this process has its own particular traits. However, it would be a serious mistake to separate these traits from the basic determinants of the current situation which are contained in the socioeconomic sphere and also, as expressed by Premier Jaruzelski in his speech in Chelm, in the sphere of international relations.

In other words, I propose that the discussion about culture not be carried on in an abstract and isolated field--since I deal with such attempts as well. What we continue to need is harsh reality.

/Question/ Which problems of cultural policy do you currently consider most important?

/Answer/ We are in a phase of preparing new legal acts. Shortly, a law on artistic institutions, which is creating much interest, will be placed on the Sejm's drawing board. I believe that in a relatively short period of time it will acquire a proper shape and that after taking effect it will finally speed up the farreaching, structural reform of artistic institutions. However, I

would like to warn against belief in the magical powers of this or any other act. It will be decided in practice.

The same applies to the act on the dissemination of culture which was passed a few months ago. As we all know, its main economic postulates for which the trade unions spoke up were fulfilled recently by government decision. The lack of these decisions evoked an atmosphere unfavorable to the law. The first executory rules and regulations also appeared recently. The further implementation of this act will demand patience and determination from all participants. Taking into consideration its range, it may also present problems here and there for which I am prepared.

/Question/ What do you have in mind?

/Answer/ The group of issues associated with culture in the workplace. The act has imposed upon socialized enterprises the obligation of conducting activity in the field of cultural dissemination. It is a well-known fact that such expectations on the part of workers, particularly laborers, do exist. This is confirmed by various studies, surveys and our own observations.

Specifically, as far as organizational-financial regulation is concerned, the solution that was accepted is one that is based on the concordant and voluntary cooperation of the work establishment and its organs including self-government with the ministry and with the Cultural Development Fund. We will try to usher in the solution as soon as possible. However, the basis for this must be the decisions made by independent work establishments, thus, different from the way it has been.

On the basis of the act, the ministry will suggest and cooperate but because the transitional period has already passed, it will no longer substitute for work establishments. A large field of action appears here not only for us but, above all, for those organizations, echelons or communities which are interested in a democratic system of disseminating culture in the workplace based on cooperation.

I do not wish to go into detail, but I do detect various kinds of obstacles on this road--obstacles which will have to be overcome consistently and with determination, mainly in the large work establishments. To be sure, the situation in some of them is very favorable even today, but only in some.

/Question/ The law on dissemination has to be viewed, as you have said many times, in close connection with the law on national councils and regional self-government which went into effect on 17 June of this year. Will all the effects of this connection be beneficial to culture, however?

/Answer/ You have touched upon an extremely important issue which will have a bearing on the shape of cultural policy for the next several years and which at times is still not recognized or appreciated.

Thus, the act regarding dissemination has transferred an overwhelming majority of cultural issues to "local" hands whereby the fate of these issues becomes

the responsibility of governors, of provincial councils, managers, gmina councils and, if need be, of cultural commission if they are appointed, something which in any case is not mandatory. Naturally, national councils, provincial and gmina echelons have also been given their own legally secured sources of financing. The setting in motion of these sources is an essential condition for the proper development of culture. Local cultural needs cannot, under any circumstances, be entirely provided for from this part of the Cultural Development Fund /FRK/ which is centrally amassed and remains at the disposal of the minister.

Legal and financial issues have been taken care of and now it is up to the council themselves, up to the governors and managers to see to what extent the provincial and gmina funds as well as activities which draw from them will promote the implementation of the goals of cultural policy on a regional and national scale.

The minister still has overall control, the right to determine the direction of activity and to offer assistance through allocations but all of this has a different character now. Up to now, during the transitional period, we frequently acted in a substitute manner much like "fire fighters" so as not to allow for the weakening of a particular activity. In the face of the new legal and economic situation, responsibility for the fate of cultural institutions and activity which are not reserved for the central government, falls to--and I reiterate--the local organs of authority and to representative organs. This is the result of an enormous change in the division of power between the central government and the "local" organs of authority--a change which, after all, had been appealed for for so many years.

/Question/ Many parts of the country are sending out different signals, however, which attest to the fact that people who deal with culture were surprised by the magnitude of changes. Proposals, repeals and even appeals for a return to centralization in some fields and for the intervention of the minister are increasing. What is your opinion of this?

/Answer/ There can be no turning back of the reform. We simply have to observe more closely what kind of cadre we have in all areas which come into play here: whether an atmosphere conducive to culture will be created in the national councils and finally, whether local opinion favors these or other actions. And then, we can make the proper decisions.

In no way does this diminish the legal responsibility of the ministry, the only thing is that in the light of the new law, this responsibility looks totally different than before. The realization of this fact; finding a place for cultural issues in the functioning of the new national councils which stand, after all, before a multitude of problems and the arrangement of new relations between financial, central and local endeavors--these are the tasks which will begin to materialize themselves as early as this month in consultations and settlements concerning the distribution of the Cultural Development Fund. Both the new laws and NIK /Supreme Chamber of Control/ indicators clearly define the place and nature of this fund. They predetermine the fact that this fund can no longer be treated, under any circumstances, as an emergency fund or as the sole source of cultural funding.

/Question/ However, I continue to be concerned about whether the cultural administration and its activists are aware of this new situation.

/Answer/ I have no delusions as to the fact that after several months following the introduction of the new law everything is already going smoothly. We are taking steps aimed at expanding information about the new legal rules and regulations and about their effects as well as about the new principles governing the distribution of the Cultural Development Fund and about those possibilities which are currently in the hands of the local authorities.

In the very near future, we will organize a series of meetings dealing with this subject. We will also convey proper material to all interested agencies. Assurances are reaching me from many provinces that they are trying to strengthen their cultural departments and find people in the newly-appointed councils who are knowledgeable in cultural matters and whose heart is in culture. This is what gives me reason to be happy.

[15-16 Sep 84 p 3]

/Text/ The first part of the interview which we published in yesterday's issue was devoted to the most important directions of the nation's cultural policy. Today's continuation of the interview deals with subsequent, though no less important, problems of the productivity of and access to culture.

/Question/ What is the outlook for the new year in terms of the dissemination of culture?

/Answer/ We are beginning it in Chelm. This is understandable in view of the anniversary character of the year and the principles of cultural policy which stress the multidimensional nature of our culture in which not only central, professional institutions must find their place but also regional institutions, the amateur movement, country-folk art and the conservation of historical monuments.

This is a policy which sees all kinds of needs in the entire country and tries to diminish gaps and activate the domestic market of cultural turnover in a way that would not make the fact of being in a certain place such as Chelm, for example, cause for continuing discrimination in having access to culture or cause for the restricting of access only to the mass media. The new season will bring the further expansion of this activity which, in my opinion, will be met with public approval.

/Question/ The current cultural season also includes the 40th anniversary of Poland's return to its western and northern territories. Will this be reflected in the schedule of events?

/Answer/ Of course! The issue of Polish culture in the reclaimed territories is gaining great political importance not only because of the commemoration of the anniversary but also because of the current international situation. Our



return to these territories after 40 years led to a permanent, historical change in the map of Polish culture and with this, changes in the map of European culture. Gdansk, Wroclaw, Szczecin and Olsztyn are today large cultural centers, centers of creativity, headquarters for many world renown institutions and places where numerous competitions and festivals are held.

Today, when revisionist propaganda activity is trying to cast a shadow over the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and to question the foundations of the peace accord in Europe, it is our duty to show what these territories have become to Polish culture. This activity must go well beyond the usual anniversary celebrations.

/Question/ I believe that this is also an important fragment of a broader task tied to Poland's return and renewed activity in the international cultural exchange.

/Answer/ Last season was favorable for our international contacts. The Polish Culture Days were a great success in the USSR and also in the CSR and in Mongolia. Despite the well-known restrictions and reluctance of some governments, our cultural events were also held in many Western countries. Necessary contacts of importance to us and in terms of cooperation with developing countries were expanded. I would also emphasize our active presence in international cultural organizations which was given expression by the recent visit to Warsaw of the director general of UNESCO, M'Bow. Therefore, there is no and there will not be any isolation of Polish culture.

It is of great importance that this season, we will complete the rebuilding of the rhythm of cyclic events which was interrupted in past years. We can already give a few examples: biennial poster and graphic art events. Bratislava, Cantans and Warszawska Jesien /Warsaw Autumn/ or the film festival in Gdansk indicate that we are setting in motion on a full scale the system of important international, national and regional events--a system which we have worked for during the 40-year period. Its reconstruction, in and of itself, brings us closer to the full normalization of life in our country.

/Question/ On this road to normalization, do you come across more animated cooperation of the creative communities than before?

/Answer/ It is a well-known fact that the preceding season brought the restructuring of creative unions. This process can be considered finished with the formation of the last unions. Now this process is entering a new phase of development and selection of appropriate forms of action. The number of members is growing systematically and the number of branches of various unions and their activities are increasing. Obviously, they do not encompass all of the creative artist community. There are groups of people in the arts which remain on the sidelines and are not yet convinced about the new unions. I am fully aware of this.

Our efforts will be aimed at developing those relations with the unions which will serve them best and in which their function of community representation will always be carried out just as this is the case when they review new draft plans of legislative acts, such as acts on artistic institutions or, in the near future, on cinematography.

It gives me great satisfaction to see the growing participation of artistic communities at various kinds of events, regardless of their attitude toward creative artist unions themselves. We have a growing number of those who are willing to take on new artistic tasks and to take part in the international exchange. I believe that in the upcoming year this positive trend will become even stronger and that the group of those who are hesitant and distrustful will continue to decrease. We will try to convince them not only with good words but, above all, with new widely-consulted decisions and actions based on the law.

/Question/ I hope you will have less occasion for persuasion and more for discussions on the specific artistic undertakings. After all, we are still waiting for results, for outstanding works which are of significance for our times.

/Answer/ Do not forget that artistic institutions are already enjoying a considerable degree of independence. Our tasks, as those of a ministry and in accordance with the act pertaining to the office of the minister, are based only on establishing general directions of cultural policy.

In the upcoming year, for example, we will promote those events which are in harmony with social needs and with anniversaries. We anticipate and already have quite a large number of various debuts in our program. The participation of Polish authors in the repertoire of our institution is increasing--this will become apparent particularly in dramatic theatres. The creative activity of these communities is growing. During the previous period, they maintained a wait-and-see position.

The creation of opportunities for the creative expression of all artistic people who agree with the basic principles of the constitutional system of the PRL continues to be one of our urgent tasks. I would like to assure that to this end we will continue to develop forms of state sponsorship. The past season was significant in this respect. We established a Literary Fund, an institution which was fought for by the writers' community for a long time and there is also a State Fund for Art Commissions which has hundreds of millions of zlotys at its disposal. All of these funds have been and will be tied to the representation of communities.

I do know, however, that various sponsorships are currently active in Poland. What is interesting is that the first foundations in the area of culture are beginning to take shape. I believe that during the upcoming season legal formalities will already have been completed and that the new, obviously not in a historical sense because foundations have existed in Poland before and have played a significant role, institution will appear which utilizes social, group and individual initiative.

/Question/ These are things that give us hope. What about problems?

/Answer/ We will continue to experience difficulties in many areas in which cultural life is tied to production. The deciding factor here is not, unfortunately the validity of argumentation, the number of newspaper articles or the opinion of communities but simply our financial limits.

And here, I would mainly like to point out the dramatic situation in the area of printing. All appeals for increasing book editions encounter barriers which for the time being are unsurmountable because of the very small supply of paper, the worsening state of the paper and printing industry as well as that of the chemical industry.

I will give you an example of the problems which we must solve. Thus, we will be celebrating shortly the 150th anniversary of the first edition of "Pan Tadeusz." This is an extraordinary date for Polish culture. No matter how you look at this splendid work which has played and continues to play an enormous role in our history, you must agree that we are obligated to meet public demand in this respect. After all, this book should be found in every Polish home. But it is not.

That is why we have decided to publish "Pan Tadeusz" at an unprecedented edition of 1 million copies. However, it is obvious that paper for this purpose does not come from any surpluses; instead, we have had to set aside the printing of many other things. I do feel, however, that this is a culturally and nationally necessary and valid option.

The demand for musical instruments remains unsatisfied. The situation in the phonograph industry, which requires large capital outlays and technical progress, continues to be difficult. The same problems of disproportion between needs and economic capabilities continues to occur in the field of historical monument conservation. These are situations in which the Ministry of Culture simply acts as one of today's many petitioners--those investors who strive to improve the state of industry. However, under the country's current economic conditions we cannot expect any sudden changes. I will not promise any miracles!

Our planners and industrial advisers predict an improvement only if there is a measurable improvement in the entire economic situation. In other words, this is a process which should be viewed in terms of a 5-year plan or 5-year plans and not one season.

/Question/ From this we ought to draw the conclusion that the fate of the modernization of the system of Polish culture is so closely tied to the fate of the economic reform that a blow to the economy would also mean a blow to culture and the deepening of problems in this sphere.

/Answer/ Undoubtedly! This is an axiom not only of the theory on which the socialist system is based but a truism known worldwide. Under conditions of intensifying economic problems and crisis phenomena, negative effects in the area of culture will appear in every country and under all kinds of conditions. These negative effects are varied, beginning with the outlook of people, their attitude toward creative works and issues and the management of one's own time to the renewal of personal cultural assets, such as books, records, television set, etc.

The belief that anything can happen during the phase of great crisis and tension but that for whatever reason, only culture will be preserved like an ivory tower, is an illusion.

## WAGE DIFFERENTIAL OF POLES WORKING ABROAD TERMED UNFAIR

Krakow TAK I NIE in Polish No 36, 7 Sep 84 p 2

[Article by Lech Czudaj: "Foreign Contracts vs. Work at Home"]

[Text] At a time when many Polish enterprises are complaining about their inability to work at full capacity because of labor shortages, there are many ardent opponents and perhaps somewhat fewer supporters for the export of Polish labor. The arguments of the former need not be elaborated upon. The latter insist that since it has become necessary to seriously limit the scope of investment in Poland, advanced construction potential still has to be used and jobs still have to be provided to people who learned their trades on the huge building sites of the previous decade and whose skills may someday be needed again. It would be a waste therefore to retrain them. It would be better to let them earn hard currency for the country.

Indeed, but are they earning money for the country or mainly for themselves? The view that Polish workers employed under contracts abroad, chiefly in construction, are paid too much in relation to the value of the work they supply, has become so widespread that the Ministry of Labor, Pay and Social Security has made an in-depth analysis of the prevailing regulations in this respect.

At the end of 1983, there were a total of 60,104 Poles working abroad under official contracts, out of whom over 37,500 worked in socialist countries. The biggest number were working in East Germany (9,700), followed by Hungary (9,000), the Soviet Union (8,800) and Czechoslovakia (8,500). At the other extreme, there are just two Polish specialists in Cuba, six in Vietnam and 28 in Yugoslavia.

Let us now look at their earnings, which cause so much excitement. All the people who go to work abroad receive pay in zloty, paid in Poland, amounting to 3-5 thousand zloty a month as well as pay in foreign currency paid abroad, which is understandable because they must pay rent and other regular charges here. On top of this workers on export contracts are entitled to free lunch, free accommodation, a free trip to Poland and back to the country of employment once every 2 years (or once a year if working outside Europe), or a free trip to and from Poland every 3 months if the place of work is situated not more than 500 kilometers away from the Polish border.

However, next to the relatively high wages, the biggest attraction is the possibility of transferring half of foreign-currency earnings to Poland, at a rate of 3 rubles to a 1-dollar Pewex coupon. Even at the official rate of exchange of 123 zloty to a dollar, earnings turn out to be quite high. For example, the manager in charge of a big construction project in East Germany will earn twice as much as his colleague at home, and if he works in Romania the difference is 3 to 1. A Polish engineer working on a project in East Germany will get 1.5 times as much as he can expect to get in a similar job in Poland, and in Romania he would get more than twice Polish pay. Also the lowest-paid workers will get more if they work abroad: 1.3 times as much in East Germany and 1.8 times as much in Romania.

Of course, if the conversion is made at the blackmarket rate of 600 zloty to a dollar, the differences will be much bigger: the manager on a project in East Germany will then be earning five times as much as in Poland, with a 7-1 ratio for Romania. This is taking place at a time when there is increasing talk about shortages of capacity in the construction industry.

Somebody might argue that there is no reason why Polish workers abroad should be paid less than their local counterparts. But nothing of the sort is the case: specialists with equivalent skills in individual countries earn much less than the Poles. In East Germany, the Polish manager of a building site earns 286 percent of the pay of his German counterpart, and in the Soviet Union he would get more than 6.5 times the pay of a Soviet manager.

Some people will argue that all these calculations are underestimated anyway because people do not bring back money from work abroad, only attractive commodities to sell in second-hand shops or on the blackmarket, and then the profits can be as much as twice as high. But even if this possibility is left aside, the totally unjustified wage differences are quite shocking. On various occasions, the authorities face tough questions: How is that, people ask, that it does not pay to work for Poland at home and that one has to pay bribe to qualify for a contract abroad?

CSO: 2600/43

ANNIVERSARY OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PRC

AU091020 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Oct 84 p 5

[Editorial article: "A Memorable Event in the Development of Romanian-Chinese Relations of Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Text] It is 35 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the PRC--a political event of decisive significance for developing relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries and peoples. That decision by the two countries was made immediately after the proclamation of the PRC on 1 October 1949; Romania was one of the first countries in the world to establish diplomatic relations with the Chinese people's state. Thus the traditional relations of friendship and solidarity between the Romanian people and the Chinese people, between the advanced, revolutionary forces were sanctioned in the struggle against foreign oppression and for national and social liberation.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the PRC opened up a new chapter in the relations between the two countries; this event marked the high qualitative content of Romanian-Chinese cooperation in the great work of building socialism and in the struggle for peace, understanding, and international cooperation.

During the 35 years since that memorable event, profound revolutionary changes have taken place in Romania and China and successes of historic significance have been registered in developing the forces of production, science, and culture and in building socialism. These noteworthy achievements have been the material foundation for constantly developing manysided cooperation between the two countries to the benefit of both countries and of the cause of socialism and peace.

A stimulating factor in developing Romanian-Chinese relations was the placing of relations between the two countries from the beginning on the new principles of socialism, of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, and comradely assistance--principles that have fully proven their fruitful nature and that have ensured stable and constant mutual relations.

In retrospect, the 35 years reveal a fruitful inventory that has considerably enriched Romanian-Chinese relations. A decisive role in giving an impetus to overall Romanian-Chinese cooperation is played by the relations of friendship founded on complete trust, esteem and mutual respect between the RCP and the CPC. In this context, worthy of mention is the most significant contribution made by the meetings and talks at the summit level to expanding cooperation between the parties, countries, and peoples. Within this framework, the visits paid by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to China, and by Comrade Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, to Romania, as well as the visit paid recently to our country by Li Xiannian, PRC president, and the particular results of the talks conducted on those occasions have opened up new and extensive prospects for developing the overall relations of cooperation between Romania and China at a political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other levels.

It can be stated with satisfaction that, through the implementation of the summit understandings, on the 35th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, Romanian-Chinese cooperation is experiencing a vigorous and manysided development. In this context, the cable sent by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and by the prime minister of the Romanian Government to the PRC party and state leadership on the 35th anniversary of the installation of people's power in that friendly country, stresses: "We note with particular satisfaction that the relations of friendship, solidarity, and fruitful cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples are constantly developing in all areas of common interest. On this occasion, too, we want to reiterate our firm conviction that, by acting together, in close cooperation, and in the spirit of summit understandings relations between the RCP and the CPC and between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PRC will further vigorously develop to the benefit and in the interest of the Romanian and Chinese peoples, the general cause of socialism, independence, progress, peace, and cooperation throughout the world". In the same spirit, the cable sent by Comrade Hu Yaobang and Li Xiannian, by the chairman of the Standing Committee of the PRC National People's Congress, and by the premier of the State Council of the PRC to the party and state leadership of our country on the 40th anniversary of the 23 August 1944 event stressed: "Our two parties and peoples, and China and Romania have become close comrades in arms in the joint revolutionary struggle and in the work of building socialism; they are friends that have withstood trials and unrest of all kinds and have helped each at difficult times. History has demonstrated that Chinese-Romanian friendship founded on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is characterized by vigorous vitality. The CPC and the Chinese Government and people are firmly determined to make sustained efforts to continue to strengthen and develop this great friendship."

In the same spirit, the cables between the presidents of the two countries on the 35th anniversary of establishing diplomatic relations--cables which are published above--once again stress the lastingness and usefulness of Romanian-Chinese friendship.

Romanian-Chinese relations have been established on the strong material foundation of cooperation in the economic area which is successfully developing. In the spirit of the provisions of the agreement on long-term economic and technical cooperation, concluded between the two countries, both trade and goods production sharing are expanding. Recently, new understandings were reached on developing economic cooperation and collaboration in important industrial branches. As was stressed during numerous Romanian-Chinese meetings, the continuously increasing economic potential of the two countries and the socioeconomic development programs in Romania and China offer more and more favorable preconditions for expanding and diversifying cooperation in fields of the greatest importance. For this very purpose, the two sides agreed to intensify negotiations between the relevant ministries to reach agreements that will ensure that the possibilities existing in Romania's and China's developing economies are fully used.

Positive results have been achieved in developing cooperation in key fields thus increasing the sides' contribution to resolving certain socioeconomic development problems and to the progress of the two countries. Cultural ties have also developed vigorously. Mutual visits of party and state delegations have also increased, as have visits by mass and civic organizations, the exchange of experience in various areas of socialist construction. All this contributes to a better mutual knowledge about the achievements and concerns of the two peoples and to strengthening friendship and cooperation between them.

At an international level, Romania and China are actively cooperating in the struggle to resolve certain major problems of the present-day world, by struggling to halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament measures, primarily nuclear disarmament measures, to eliminate the policy of the use or threat of force and resolve differences by political means and negotiations, to assert the new principles of interstate relations, and to ensure the triumph of the policy of detente, independence, peace, and cooperation in the world.

On the 35th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the PRC, the Romanian people convey warmest congratulations to the friendly Chinese people and express their conviction that the relations of friendship and many-sided cooperation between Romania and China will develop more and more at the most varied levels in their mutual interests and in the interest of the general cause of socialism, progress, and peace in the world.

CSO: 2700/10



ROZIC DISCUSSES DISSIDENCE, SAWPY TALKS

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 84 pp 8-11

[Interview with Marjan Rozic, chairman of the SAWPY Federal Conference, by Branislav Kovacic: "We Underestimated Ideas, and Overestimated Things"]

[Text] Dr Marjan Rozic, chairman of the SAWPY Federal Conference, has occupied almost all of the more important political posts, especially in the Federation. He began as a mason, and obtained the title of doctor of political sciences. He is known as a man who has often spoken out in public to communicate his positions on the most current political subjects.

While he works in Belgrade, his family is in Ljubljana, and he lives in a one-room apartment, where he received us.

During the conversation he treated us to [?cvick]. As an "introduction to the conversation," he said that "today a politician has to be among people as much as possible. This is for his verification and encouragement. At the same time, he has to seize upon new knowledge. This is not for its own sake, but rather in order for a person to draw from everyday practicality."

[Question] The foreign press is commenting more and more on the alleged division of our political officials--in the LCY and state and self-management bodies--into so-called liberals and conservatives (dogmatists). They also mention two analogous models of political behavior in our country. How would you answer them?

[Answer] We should not lump the entire foreign press together. Only the press that is conservative in principle or sensationalistic writes about this. They represent the situation in Yugoslavia along the lines of a confrontation of officials, or of republics and provinces, or... We should not be taken in by such provocations. Every politician thinks for himself, and it is no tragedy that different positions exist on individual issues. Different positions are unacceptable when a united position has already been adopted on some issue by democratic means. Post festum sharpshooters appear, acrobats, and a person simply does not know what they want.

There is nothing abnormal in the fact that I speak about stabilization from one aspect, and another official from another aspect. Possibly now someone would say, "These two differ tremendously." But probably we are both working toward stabilization. And where would we get to if stabilization were a universal prescription?

People in our society are not divided into liberals and conservatives. To a considerable extent this is an outmoded Western formula. Among us the differentiation is made in a quite different way: whether someone talks about stabilization or implements it, whether one advocates it based on a bureaucratic or self-management concept, and whether one advocates self-management with or without the party.

[Question] The public has noticed contradictory events in our political arena: trials for political crimes and--for example--the announcement by the highest bodies of the LCY and the SAWP of Slovenia about the so-called Dachau trials in 1948 and 1949. How do you assess the present political climate and the attitude of the public?

[Answer] We are a society of contradictions. The quality of this society is its finding courage to confront its own weaknesses. It is difficult to define the political situation and the attitude of the public thoroughly. I would merely improvise certain elements: people today are fairly critical, but not carping. People know that one does not build through destruction. Their critical attitude is not directed against self-management, the LCY, or our fundamental values. There is genuine alarm about certain phenomena in our society. Not panic, but fear: Will we be able to overcome all the difficulties? Vacillations also occur because in our euphoria of spending we have oriented people more to things than to ideas. We have underestimated ideas and overestimated things.

There is a great differentiation going on today even within the working class. A worker's awareness is not built just on general principles, but rather through concrete relations. In the collectives where a difficult battle is being waged for production, exports, and income, there is no longer a blind faith in the state and its power. The belief in one's own strength is very convincing here. Where people vegetate and wait is a belief in the state arises almost as if in a god. Salvation is sought in the state rather than in oneself.

How is it that we do not have more pronounced conflicts when the standard of living is dropping for the fourth year in a row? It is because of the high degree of self-management awareness. Whether we have acknowledged it or not, self-management is linked to the personality of the Yugoslav.

[Question] Is the appearance of dissidents possible and normal in our society, as in the East European socialist countries?

[Answer] The dissidents have made themselves dissidents. These people with shallow and dubious ideas and confusion want to distinguish themselves in some way. It suits them to have various spectacles occurring with regard to them. Sometimes we are inclined to be taken in by this. Today we need an

ideological battle based on a scientific Marxist concept. I have also said to foreign journalists that so far no one has had to answer for ideas and creative thoughts that he has expressed in the SAWP. But no one should expect to be spared criticism and even ideological confrontation if he defends ideologically unacceptable theses. Then he has to be ready for criticism. Let him defend himself or retreat.

The fabrication of dissidents is often a product of too much administrative and bureaucratic activity. I am in favor of ideological and political activity. But only when there is a question of directly hostile activity am I also in favor of police action. One should use against the enemy the means that he deserves. There should be no compromise. Anyone who participated in such a compromise would be gambling with the revolution. He would be opening the door to counterrevolution. But one should not make enemies out of people who are not. If someone is criticizing today, he is not yet an enemy. I also criticize certain things because I am fighting against bad phenomena in this society.

[Question] If you were by some chance a foreign correspondent in our country, how would you briefly assess the situation in Yugoslavia?

[Answer] That is very difficult. Objectivity would be one of my basic criteria. Thus, neither polishing things nor the dark side, but rather a critical approach. I would look at things in progress. Anyone who says that things are ideal in Yugoslavia, that it is flowing with milk and honey, is not giving an objective report, like anyone who only curses Yugoslavia.

[Question] In a speech at the end of 1972, you stated that "economic issues are the area in which we have been inconsistent, ideologically indifferent to many weaknesses that have accumulated; among other things, because of the lack of conscious action by communists, nonself-management relations, and insufficient involvement by the trade unions." You said that "it is in this that one should find the real answer to the question of why the desired results are not being achieved in spite of a multitude of measures and good positions." Would you add anything to these views if you spoke about the current situation in Yugoslav society?

[Answer] I said that 12 years ago when I worked in the trade union. Nothing needs to be added to this view. The situation is more serious and we are becoming more clearly aware that in resolving the economic difficulties we cannot be satisfied merely with measures within the purview of the state, at any level, or with technocratic measures in associated labor. These measures are a sort of circle in which you can spin around, but you cannot achieve real results unless you break the circle and unless you turn to the development of self-management through the force of economic coercion and incentives, the force of the LCY's ideological-political activity, and the force of the frontal action of the SAWP.

The fact that the diagnosis is almost the same while the situation is more serious, more acute, merely warns that we have retained too long our belief in the possibility of resolving the difficulties by noneconomic and non self-management means. We are overcoming this state of affairs. Today there is a

more pronounced differentiation in associated labor between the workers who, in turning to their work and to the effective management of social property, are creating a new awareness, a climate, a belief in the possibility of doing business successfully under the conditions of socialist self-management, and those workers who tie themselves more to the state.

[Question] This fear of the economy and trust in the state's power are surprising. As if the state equaled security and the economy equaled insecurity?

[Answer] An idea has been created among us that it is good to be under the state's cloak because it will protect you, but essentially it preserves you.

When individuals speak about market laws, it is as if they were floating in the clouds. In fact, they think about market laws as if they were the magic wand that would automatically solve everything, without the subjective factor and without the social role of self-management. These are the fanatics who simply do not see the modern world, because this does not exist anywhere in the modern world. It is an idealistic mystification of market laws.

The other extreme is the fear of market laws, with development being viewed virtually without the economy, as if administrative measures and political support for administrative measures were enough. Both extremes are unacceptable, since they lead us to sterile discussions and not practical solutions.

We need the attributes of the state that will not smother the economy. The state should stimulate the economy, planning, and self-management, and not replace economic laws with administration.

[Question] At one time there was a public discussion current about the development policy of the SFRY until 1985. The staff of experts projected that in that year the national income per capita should amount to more than \$2000, the rate of employment would reach 140,000, and more than 2.5 million apartments would be built. There were also views that this development program should be discussed as the Long-Term Stabilization Program and that defensive mechanisms for the stability of the whole economy should be incorporated in all development programs. Why didn't these defensive mechanisms function during the past decade?

[Answer] The country's medium-term plan from 1981 to 1985 was, however, prepared by us on the old basis. This development plan contained--which is why we deviated from it--the elements of extensive development, shutting ourselves off within Yugoslavia; it was not linked to real income, it encouraged indebtedness abroad, and in many areas evaded self-reliance. There were a fair number of examples of warnings about weaknesses in the plan, but this was not accepted. We finally gave up on the plan and determined the essence of development through the Annual Resolution.

There were not even any defensive mechanisms in the plan. We established real defensive mechanisms in the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program. Preparations are now beginning for the Plan for the Medium-Term Development of Yugoslavia from 1986 to 1990. This plan must be filled with the content of the Economic Stabilization Program, and must have defensive mechanisms.

[Question] What kind?

[Answer] Primarily, self-reliance, without cherishing illusions that we can use foreign credits as we have in the past. Not in order to shut ourselves off from the world, but rather in order to be stronger and more capable of participating in the international division of labor.

Next, in investments we should proceed from an economic-defensive criterion--whether every new investment program will yield above-average income, whether it makes it possible to market goods on the world market, whether it makes possible an above-average growth of personal incomes and accumulation. These are the fundamental economic criteria. The purpose is not the volume but rather the quality of investment. A worker cannot debate about whether it is necessary to invest 100 or 102 billion in some investment, nor about other technical points, but he can insist on economic criteria.

It is necessary to overcome our technological dependence on the rest of the world. It is time, using the world's scientific knowledge, to put our scientific potential on its feet, to think out a strategy for technological development. We must take ecological criteria even more into account. The attitude toward the ecology is practical and not sentimental, because undervaluing environmental protection for a certain time can lead to our not having the capacity to pay for what has been destroyed.

[Question] How do you view the increasingly more anemic standard of living, the sharp regulations on the payment of minimum wages, the organizations of associated labor that are operating at a loss, and those that are illiquid?

[Answer] The purpose of economic stabilization is not a decline in the standard of living. It is one of the ways of bringing us down to the real world. We have also lived beyond our material capabilities in the area of the standard of living. The medicine is in increased income. Ways are known to increase income. There are many possibilities to earn more in the village, in small business, tourism, and second and third shifts. The most important thing is to motivate people for more high-quality and creative work.

It is unacceptable for us to be rigorous only with respect to the standard of living, and tolerant regarding other areas of consumption. I think that people live considerably better in the villages today than in the cities. I do not mean by this that we have to lower the standard of living in the villages, but rather that we should raise it in the cities. It is unacceptable today for salaries to constitute only 48 percent of total income, and for us to tie many social obligations only to that form of the population's income. It is also unacceptable for the substantive issues of satisfying general and joint needs to be tied only to salaries and not to total incomes.

[Question] Is it possible to carry out the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program without releasing unproductively employed workers, of which there are close to 2 million according to the estimates of experts?

[Answer] I am not in favor of releasing them; I see possibilities for a solution in several directions. Where people are doing business on the brink of

profitability or at a loss, it is necessary to make a critical examination very quickly of the prospects for the existing production program. We have to be concerned less with covering the losses and maintaining the firm, and turn ourselves toward a program that will employ more those people who are insufficiently employed.

It is necessary to encourage collectives to guide employees toward multi-shift work or to expand capacities. It is necessary to encourage people to go from management to production. The analyses say that in Yugoslavia we could employ almost 2 million people in small business in 2 or 3 years if we just really worked on the development of small business. There are opstinas where small business is well developed, and there are some where it is completely cut back.

The first youth factory has begun to operate. It is necessary to support the youth organizations that approach employment in such a manner, and do not philosophize and complain to society. Pure wine should also be poured for young people. We cannot bring someone's job to his apartment. He has to look for work. He should accept the work that is offered. Someone who does not accept work is not really unemployed. We can live well on his mama's and papa's pay.

[Question] At the end of 1977, at a "round table," there was a discussion of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and its role in the political system. You stated then that "social criticism, as part of creative self-management activity, is too undervalued and even suppressed in some areas." You said that the concept of the front is being implemented with difficulty, primarily because of a fear that the autonomy of sociopolitical organizations might be lost in this way and because of a tendency for the SAWP to be imposed as an organization above other organizations. Why is this concept being implemented with difficulty today?

[Answer] When I speak of the SAWP, I always think of a front of all those who are able and willing to fight a battle for the country's progress based on the platform of socialist self-management. Room for criticism should be expanded further in the SAWP. If it is developed in the front, action to change things will grow from it. Promoting democratic relations makes possible a confrontation of different interests on the basis of arguments and knowledge. I am even convinced that sometimes fairly sensitive social issues should be discussed most openly in the SAWP, so that when someone spoke that way outside of the front, one could think about an antisocialist position.

Naturally, if we want to develop democracy and criticism, we should be willing to engage in a dialogue, and this willingness for a dialogue means that you use the right weapons: knowledge, argument, sense, and no disqualification. The one who does not know anything and who loses because he does not have any arguments disqualifies himself. Today you have adherents of cafe democracy, cafe stories, street stories, round tables and forums in apartments, and not discussion and dialogue within the front, the SAWP. I do not know why anyone would avoid a dialogue within the front.

A dialogue is being conducted within the SAWP on the religious communities, current issues in the areas of culture, social policy, and the standard of living... But it has to be broader and it has to mobilize all creative people. Some people in Yugoslavia live in the classical schemes of a single-party or multiparty system, but if you want to understand the Socialist Alliance, you have to tear yourself away from them, because if you view the Socialist Alliance as a sociopolitical organization, the logical question is why it would be some sort of organization above organizations. That is a way of thinking based on hierarchy and prestige. Some people view the SAWP as an instrument of transmission. If we are in the front, then the SAWP is neither superior nor subordinate.

[Question] What is meant by the leading role of the LCY in the SAWP?

[Answer] In our society the LCY does not fight for rule by the party. This means that the LCY does not act through the force of power, but rather by ideological and political means, which presupposes that communists have to be sort of SAWP activists, and not grab a monopoly on posts for themselves. The fulfillment of the practical ideological-political role of the LCY is a struggle for the party's policy through the force of ideas, arguments, the capacity for a more profound penetration into certain social phenomena, and predicting and mastering social trends.

The leading ideological and political role is not given in advance to every communist and every organization of the LCY. In a given situation you can lose the battle. But this loss of the battle does not mean that one must seize the old methods of working with one's fist, waving the party identification. In such a situation it is worthwhile to raise the question of whether the ideological and political backwardness of communists in the LCY organization has made possible behavior that is not communist for socialist self-management.

Whether we will broaden the democratic space and meaning for a dialogue or not depends on how the LCY carries out its leading role in the SAWP. One could say that the more of the old that there is in the LCY, the more difficult it will be for the Socialist Alliance to take a step toward the new. And conversely, if there is more of the new, creative, and constructive in the LCY, the steps of the SAWP will be that much more courageous, firmer, and clearer.

[Question] Why is the SAWP not a self-managing social movement?

[Answer] The Socialist Alliance is an integral part of self-management, and an integral part of the political system. It is not a cap above it, it is not a transmission for it, and it is not a passive observer either. Just as a Fiat cannot move without an engine, this self-managing society cannot go further without the SAWP.

[Question] Two years ago you stated that "neither as a delegate from Slovenia nor as an official of SAWP can I reconcile myself with treating as a state secret information and assessments that most affect the working people, those who through their work and income should surmount the present economic crisis

caused primarily by the accumulation of debts." Are you satisfied with the public nature of the work of the most important institutions of the Yugoslav political system?

[Answer] The answer to my question as a delegate was in fact a state secret. The Federal Secretariat for Finances insisted most on that. I fought to have the answer to my question made available to the public, and many people in the Federal Executive Council agreed. But that dragged on and on... I am satisfied that the truth about the debts reached the public and that it is no longer a taboo subject. It is not my intention to fool around with papers that are strictly confidential for the sake of some kind of curiosity. I was guided by a principled motive: we want to place the whole nation on its feet, and we want to meet our international obligations, but we are concealing the amount of the debts! Where is the mobilizing factor here? In such a situation the truth is a mobilizing factor. All concealed information opens up room for disinformation.

[Question] Whom does it suit to conceal information?

[Answer] The bureaucratic logic and mentality. You will always find someone who would like to be the only one to know. Sometimes the intention of manipulating is hidden by concealing information. Naturally what is a state secret should remain a state secret. But not everything can be a state secret. With respect to state secrets, I am in favor of our being restrictive, but we should be broader about everything that should be told to the public.

When you know the information about the difficult situation the country is in, that ties you closer to the country. When we speak about whether something should be given to the public, we have to count on the socialist self-management mentality of the Yugoslav. It is bad if information is learned through foreign channels and not our own.

[Question] Because of strong statism, if I may paraphrase your words from an interview last year, it is not accidental that there is often a struggle for prestige and continuous tension over whether there will be more power in the hands of federal, republic, or provincial statism. How is one to criticize these phenomena without being declared an opponent--virtually an enemy--of the constitutional order, especially the "AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles" of federalism? How can one avoid equating individual institutions and individuals with the essence of our political program and system?

[Answer] Criticizing statism in the republics and provinces does not mean criticizing the constitutional order in the republics and provinces. The autonomy of the republics and provinces is not the same thing as shutting oneself off within one's own boundaries. It should be understood that real interest in community spirit can only be expressed and realized when people really live in full autonomy in any given area. It is only then that community spirit and cooperation are necessary. A person experiences all statism in the same manner, since it ties his hands, fetters him, and functions as a lawyer in his name but not in his interest.



The struggle against statism is not a struggle against the federation, the republic, or the province, but rather a struggle against statism in each concrete area. Individuals want to restrict the rights of the republics and provinces. Supposedly the republics and provinces are the main obstacle. Allegedly, if they did not exist, we in Yugoslavia would come to an agreement very quickly, and everything would be resolved simply. Such tendencies toward unitarism and centralism are a direct stimulus for nationalism in the republics and provinces.

Today people in Yugoslavia are very sensitive to discussions about whether we will change the system and what we will change in the system. They say, "Who is seeking to change the system? Who wants to play games with the system? Is someone bothered by self-management? Let him speak up and we will take care of him very quickly!" People today are willing to become involved in having self-management function better, in having the political system function better based on a definite concept. They do not want anything to be changed irresponsibly.

Sometimes we communicate stupidly with our open enemies. Seselj, in my opinion, is an open enemy of Yugoslavia. But I would say to him, "Go to a factory and express what you wrote to the workers!" Do you know what would happen? We would have to protect him. I am profoundly convinced that this would be a sharp political reaction. And I am convinced that his theses would not be accepted at a meeting of creative intellectuals.

[Question] Still, is an institution the same as an individual?

[Answer] No one should identify himself with an institution. It is quite natural and normal that someone can criticize my views and positions that I present in a speech or an interview. And then I am treated as an individual, not as the president of SAWP. But if I, as the president, state some things at the Federal Conference, and it then accepts this as a policy, and a political course, then polemics with such positions are no longer polemics with me. Then they are polemics with a course, an orientation.

But there are people who would like to destroy the authority of an institution and a given post, no myth, in order to create some sort of quasidemocracy in that way. That is nothing but anarchy. We have to build and strengthen the authority of self-management posts and institutions. Not as some sort of taboo, but rather as the elements of our life and creativity.

9909

CSO: 2800/496

SAWPY PRESIDENT ROZIC COMMENTS ON DISSIDENCE

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 272, 28 Jul 84 pp 10-14

[Interview with Dr Marjan Rozic, president of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY, by Zoran Sekulic, in Belgrade: "There Are Never Enough Dissenters To Suit the Bureaucrats"; date not specified]

[Text] A one-room apartment in General Zhdanov Street. The chairman of the house council rings the doorbell of the subject of our interview. He says:

"Last night I heard the news on the television that you have been elected president of the Socialist Alliance. Congratulations. But I must say I am sorry you will be moving out!"

"Thanks for the congratulations, but I am not moving anywhere," Rozic answered. The chairman of the house council remained confused by the fact that it never occurred to the new president of our largest sociopolitical organization to move out of a one-room apartment.

We heard this authentic anecdote from our subject's neighbors. They also told us that often on Saturdays Marjan Rozic joins them in doing the lawns. Rarely does he manage to visit his family in Ljubljana. The telephone switchboard in the large building of sociopolitical organizations in Lenin Boulevard is not yet operating when he gets to work. His modesty and the pains he takes are impressive.

We know that Rozic will not like our telling this anecdote. But we have done it above all because of the mistaken and general idea people have of how our officials live.

All Body and No Heart

[Question] Let us begin this interview with the words of Mitja Ribicic in NIN: "We behave like a party in power in water up to its knees, so there is no need for us to fight or to prove ourselves, since we have it all in our hands: the party appoints the ministers, appoints the chairmen, conducts personnel policy, handles investments, and as a formality gets them passed in the forums of the Socialist Alliance--so that the forms are complied with--but only members of the party are sitting in those forums...." Some people say that the Socialist Alliance is a carbon copy of the League of Communists.

[Answer] The Socialist Alliance is not objectively a copy of the League of Communists, but there have been attempts to mechanically carry over certain forms of activity from the League of Communists to the Socialist Alliance. Such tendencies conflict with the very democratic nature of the Socialist Alliance as a popular front. They constrict the front on which the Socialist Alliance operates, pushing into a top-heavy operation through its forums, which inevitably has an impact on its democracy and on responsibility in its activity.

In its basic orientation the Socialist Alliance is the broadest democratic and libertarian front of the organized people rallied around a platform of building socialism and socialist self-management. If this is to be completely and successfully achieved in it, there must be an equal place in it for people who take Marxist ideological positions but also those who look differently on the world; there must be room there for revolutionary and creative activity and a critical attitude toward the moves made in day-to-day politics, for initiative, dialogue and action in the search for new solutions and for explication of reflections and ideas about future roads in the development of socialism. It is self-evident that we cannot accept ideas which would take us backwards, but rather those which develop practice, widen freedom and self-management and strengthen democratic relations in society and thus lead to the development of every person as a creative and responsible individual. In that sense it can be said that certain shortcomings manifested in the League of Communists are specifically reflected in the Socialist Alliance, but not as a carbon copy, but rather as an attempt to hold the Socialist Alliance in the position of a transmission belt, a simple operative performing tasks without the necessary creation.....

[Question] Where is this most often the case?

[Answer] Where the tendency is predominant for the League of Communists to be a party in power--that is where the tendency is to turn the Socialist Alliance into a transmission belt. And the other way about: wherever there is a clear manifestation of trust and the practice that the League of Communists is the leading political-ideological force, the role of the Socialist Alliance is also strengthened as the broadest democratic organization and as the front of all the organized social forces.

[Question] Kardelj, you will recall, raised the problem of the so-called labor opposition. In his words, the Socialist Alliance ought to oversee the work of government and self-managing bodies, should stand at a critical distance and should perform the function of political oversight and monitoring. Hardly anything of all that! Why?

[Answer] Kardelj, in fact, goes deeper than that. His point of departure is that socialist self-management without the Socialist Alliance is all body and no heart. That is, the Socialist Alliance has a place in the political system, within self-management. We have been slow to implement that realization of Kardelj's. Of course, a large share of the responsibility for that is in fact borne by those of us who actually work in the Socialist Alliance, but the social conditions we find ourselves in should also be taken into account. In

that point of view alternatives are to mature for decisionmaking in the Socialist Alliance through reconciliation of differing interests in self-management, and that is far more creative and difficult than expressing any sort of oppositionist attitude. It might be said that the Socialist Alliance, if it wants to seek solutions to specific practical problems must be in a position to offer alternatives for decisions, but it must also have the personnel required....

[Question] How about the critical distance?

[Answer] I agree that in its activity the Socialist Alliance should also stand at a critical distance. But not in the role of a passive observer or a photographer taking pictures and waiting for time to pass before expressing its position after the fact, but an active participant in reconciling interests and preparing decisions, a participant who retains the right to criticize the proposals coming from the executive bodies and indeed also from the self-management bodies and delegations themselves. A critical distance helps the Socialist Alliance to examine all the interests and on the basis of the democratic reconciliation afforded by our political system, to participate actively in the making of specific decisions. In that way the Socialist Alliance becomes a participant in decisionmaking within the delegate system and in self-management relations and also takes a certain portion of social responsibility for carrying out what has been agreed on.

Enough of Fairy Tales

[Question] The Socialist Alliance has not developed sufficiently as an authentic large-scale political organization of all those committed to socialism regardless of whether they are theists or atheists, so that in the vigorous operation of its sections and public platforms, through fierce ideological struggle on all the essential questions of our time a real program for action is arrived at which will later be respected by all. Who is preventing it from performing that task?

[Answer] Today there are a great many people, including very responsible politicians, who talk about the Socialist Alliance, but who do not see themselves in its actions. Very responsible people from various sectors do little through their own activity to contribute to realizing the concept of the Socialist Alliance I have spoken about. It is not just a question of politicians, but also of certain political scientists, sociologists, cultural figures and others. I would be happy if we freed ourselves as soon as possible of the generalities about the Socialist Alliance and if there were far more of us involved every day in its work.

The Socialist Alliance supports constructive processes which have begun in society and itself participates in them. The Socialist Alliance, by speaking frankly about outstanding issues, makes its contribution to the further democratization of society. That important step was taken in the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia, where together with the League of Communists it responsibly clarified the question of the Dachau trials. Sections which initiated a dialogue on language, but at the same time stood aloof from individuals who

wanted to put this issue in a nationalistic wrapper, played an important role concerning matters related to the problems of education and the Slovenian language. For example, the Socialist Alliance of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina undertook a very thorough examination of interethnic relations. Quite recently the Socialist Alliance in Croatia raised the very important issue of the activity of religious communities. The question of the position of women and the family has been a topic of discussion in the Socialist Alliance of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the Macedonian Socialist Alliance they have undertaken to analyze the activity of self-managing communities of interest and to reassess their number, the size of their staff, and so on. In Serbia intensive drives are under way to protect social property. As you know, the Socialist Alliance of SAP Kosovo has day-to-day activities under way to overcome the problems in interethnic relations, in political differentiation, and so on. In Montenegro a great deal has been done to be better prepared for the tourist season and to correct last year's shortcomings and oversights. However critical we are of the Socialist Alliance, we still must not be blind to these constructive results.

[Question] Why has the Socialist Alliance not been used enough as a broad platform for commitment?

[Answer] First of all, there is a weakness within the Socialist Alliance itself: routinism in political work as an expression of bureaucracy in politics. To this we should also add the shortcomings which arise out of top-heavy operation through forums, that is, activity in the name of the membership. It is often thought that the Socialist Alliance operates only at the level of the Federation, which restricts the number of issues with which it is actually concerned. Further, we have not yet achieved more active participation of party members in the Socialist Alliance, where they ought to work in mobilizing people to solve the problems in which they have an interest, beginning with those which concern work, the conduct of economic activity, ethics, social welfare policy, all the way to "disputes" over some book, film, or theater production. A democratic dialogue should be conducted concerning all this, provided the problems are not politicized unnecessarily or under the pressure of individuals who would like to privatize democracy and use it for an attack on our basic social values.

[Question] How do party members operate in the Socialist Alliance?

[Answer] I would say that a large number of members of the League of Communists are not yet activists of the Socialist Alliance!

[Question] Who actually are the activists in the Socialist Alliance?

[Answer] I am glad that you put that question, since this is a point on which we really should broaden our views. If some member of the LC is working hard and vigorously in the Firefighting Society, he is an activist of the Socialist Alliance; if someone is committed in the Federation of Theater Artists, he is thereby also an activist of the Socialist Alliance. This especially applies to activists in local communities, the trade union or in the youth organization. Take the teacher for example, he has contacts with young people, with

their parents, with the community in which he works, so he also is an activist of the Socialist Alliance, and a very important one. Or an agronomist in a rural area.... The concept of the Socialist Alliance should be broadened and people should finally understand that this is not a conventional party, but a for socializing politics. So, an activist of the Socialist Alliance is not just a person who has been elected to a forum....

[Question] That naturally does not apply to a priest, he is an activist only in a forum.

[Answer] We have several members of the clergy in the Federal Conference. Mihajlo Smiljanic, for example, is a priest who fights for humanistic principles and the principles of socialist solidarity and self-management, which does not conflict with his view of the world. That also applies to Dr Vekoslav Grmic and Fra Vlado Karlovic, who are not only activists of the Socialist Alliance, but also creators of its positions. And you newsmen are or could be important activists of the Socialist Alliance. You visit work collectives, you meet many people, you go to various meetings, you have an influence on the public.

[Question] What is your comment on the datum that one-third of the party members feel that it is incompatible with the role of the SAWP in society for religious people to be involved in it?

[Answer] There is no question that this is a dogmatic and sectarian view of the Socialist Alliance. To be still more specific: such a member of the League of Communists first of all does not fully understand the role of his own organization. He is probably forgetting that both communists and noncommunists fought for the victory of our revolution, and are doing so today. Even today a majority of noncommunists are fighting for this socialist self-management, and they are doing this in every aspect, committed, by their deeds and with their hearts....

[Question] ... it is not just the 2.3 million party members who are fighting....

[Answer] Yes, and it would be bad if only they were fighting. So, this is a sectarian view of the role of the League of Communists itself. Such a party member would very quickly get lost in the Socialist Alliance, since within the front he must perform two very important functions: first, as a member of the LC to fight within the Socialist Alliance for the policy of the LC through the force of his knowledge, arguments and ability to see deeper and further, and second, through the practical activity of the Socialist Alliance to see which are the ideological problems arising in every community which party members should talk about. So, for party members work in the Socialist Alliance is a source of new knowledge and experience for the party effort.

#### Valuable Lessons of History

[Question] Do you think that the Socialist Alliance ought to resemble the Liberation Front, the Popular Front?

[Answer] Naturally, but not in order to take us backwards, but in order to go forward more resolutely. The Socialist Alliance is an expression of the continuity of the Liberation Front and the Popular Front, a product of their maturity. The lessons from those times are valuable, especially when it comes to the breadth of activity, rallying people, and confidence in people. I would say that experiences from history are especially valuable for our present time. After all, how could we ever have arrived at the breadth of the liberation movement if we had not had the Popular Front? In 1945, when we were in an extremely difficult situation, could we have worked to rebuild the country with such enthusiasm if we had not had the Popular Front? Who aside from the party and Tito created the climate of nationwide resistance to Stalinism? It should be stated openly: without the broadest involvement of people we could not have won the battle against nationalisms in the seventies. Look even at our situation today: economic conditions are difficult, and social welfare problems are exacerbated, and there are tendencies to use this to devalue the achievements of our revolution. Tendencies toward bureaucratization, administrative rigidity and a strengthening of statism also join in this. In such a situation it simply is not possible to do without a vigorous Socialist Alliance....

[Question] We have been witnesses of a kind of paradox: in the sense of true democracy the League of Communists is a more open organization than the Socialist Alliance, which has more internal ideological confrontations.

[Answer] I am not really sure that your observation is valid. To be sure, there actually is dialogue in the League of Communists, but still not enough in building policy. The most important thing today for the League of Communists is to win the battle for ideological unity and unity of action. The League of Communists has already been called upon to change things. The easiest thing, of course, is to describe reality, but the most difficult thing is to change it. Incidentally, differing opinions are being expressed more and more within the Socialist Alliance, and the range of views on many issues is much broader than in the League of Communists. That is in fact the way it should be. But we are far from a situation where we could be satisfied with the level of democracy within the front.

[Question] Some party members are afraid of that breadth in the Socialist Alliance.

[Answer] True, those are those party members who are afraid to enter into a political-ideological battle with different tendencies. It often seems to them that people who criticize are by that very fact against the system. That is not true. Most people who are criticizing today are doing so not because they do not desire self-management, but because there is not more self-management. They are criticizing not because they do not trust individual leaders, but because they want the leaders to be more out among the people, to be more involved, to prove themselves with deeds. Criticism in our context cannot be compared to the situation in other countries. For instance, there are many workers criticizing shortcomings and oversights in their own factory, but if you tell them that they should abolish self-management and the workers' councils, they will chase you out of the factory.

[Question] Who, then, is unhappy about the free circulation of ideas and the further democratization of relations in society?

[Answer] I suppose you are referring to socialist ideas. This is troublesome to the bureaucratic mindset, which likes to have everything outlined and given in advance! But it is also troublesome to those who equate democracy with anarchy. So, one tendency is bureaucratic, it can even be called Stalinist, and one should fight it by developing self-management, by strengthening the Socialist Alliance, and through the ideological force and fresh vigor of the League of Communists. The other is a somewhat modified anarcho-conservative product of relations which belong in the past and against which we must also fight by the methods already mentioned. It is of interest that the ideas about the need to establish some new party come from people who have never made an effort to be involved with their work and creativity in the Socialist Alliance. Nor is it any accident that such ideas have not had any response; after all, people know quite well that going back to the multiparty system would mean rejecting what is the greatest value of this system--for power to be in the hands of the working class. So, insistence on the multiparty system signifies nothing other than a negation of the power of the working class and of self-management.

Of course, it is also difficult for the bureaucracy to understand the plurality of interests and it would like to close its eyes to them and thus to evade democracy, self-management and the Socialist Alliance, the front in which these interests are to be reconciled through the force of arguments, knowledge and tolerance.

#### Heroes From a Blind Alley

[Question] Members of the humanistic intelligentsia are often put in various drawers: "leftist," "rightist," "liberal," "anarcho-liberal"... The term "dissent" has all but become official in our country. Do we really have our own dissenters?

[Answer] The immense majority of the intelligentsia are not in conflict either with the party or with socialism or with self-management, but are actively on the side of progress. The question of whether the intelligentsia is in conflict with the party is often given a bureaucratic construction. In the majority it not only accepts socialist self-management, but indeed sees its own destiny bound up with it. Sometimes the conflict with the intelligentsia is an expression of bureaucracy in the party, but quite often also of bureaucracy displayed by individuals within the humanistic intelligentsia itself. It ought to instill more creativity in the Socialist Alliance, and that not only in its sections, public platforms and forums, but also in its own professional associations. To take an example, why would sociologists deem it necessary only to protest that some of their colleagues are in prison because of hostile activity, and yet not feel it a far more important need to debate their arguments within their own association. It is a mistaken thesis of certain humanistic intellectuals that only they can institute actions to change the system. Here again there must not be any leaderism, elitism or similar things. I have nothing against opposition being expressed to a particular measure, but I cannot understand why such debates are not conducted.



[Question] Do we have dissenters?

[Answer] Some people make dissenters of themselves! These are quasi-heroes who think that they are brave if they attack this society, if they operate against it, if they support certain hostile tendencies and ideas that belong to some period that has been superseded already, if they agree to cast doubt on the very foundations of this society. They place themselves in the rank of dissenters. They are also motivated by the division of the world into blocs, which is ultimately what they are serving.

[Question] Nevertheless, does it seem to you that the arsenal of labels which we (mis)use is abundant or overabundant?

[Answer] Probably it is overabundant. We ought not to pin a label on a man who is criticizing certain things in society and is ready to honestly commit himself to working them out. Or: every professional manager in the economy should not in advance be proclaimed a technocrat. Not every civil servant is a bureaucrat, nor every politician or Stalinist, nor every intellectual and anarcho-liberal.

[Question] Do you have the impression that it suits the bureaucracy to have its dissenters?

[Answer] Of course it does! But the conclusion should not be drawn from that fact that a socialist society deals with the emergence of dissent solely with repressive and bureaucratic methods. The use of a repressive measure is the last means with which this society defends its fundamental commitments and the interests of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. Openly hostile activity should be resolutely prevented precisely in order to preserve democracy. Constructive criticism and the demand for accountability do not constitute hostile activity in any respect. We are referring, then, to two tendencies: people who make themselves dissenters and bureaucrats for whom there are never enough dissenters!

[Question] The authentic Marxist tradition of conducting the ideological struggle is the dictatorship of arguments; the authentic bureaucratic tradition is the dictatorship of formal authority. Does it seem to you that we quite often wage the ideological struggle in this latter manner?

[Answer] It is certain that often we need more creativity and knowledge and noble persistence and "productivity" in the ideological struggle. We sometimes are too confident that general positions and conclusions can replace the ideological battle, and then everything turns in a circle of voluntarism. And that is not good. We must ever more resolutely supersede the dictatorship of formal authority and use the force of arguments, scientific thought and analysis. The conclusions of the LCY Central Committee are aimed at promoting activity to bolster the ideology and creativity of party members, and that is extremely important for democratic relations, for the development of self-management.

[Question] We have a White Book on intellectuals, but we do not have a "white book," say, on mistakes in the conduct of policy, in investment projects, "political factories," and so on and so forth. There is never-ending talk about responsibility, but no one is responsible.

[Answer] You are not right about that! After all, we actually do have a real book about everything you are talking about. That is the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program. I am referring to a very convincing, well-argued and scientifically sound picture or analysis of socioeconomic developments and the results of our weakness and oversights, but, and this is the essential thing, this is also a program for emerging from the present economic crisis. The question is whether we have been reading that book or not? Are we drawing from it the most important tasks as individuals and self-managing communities. Have we all realized that once again on this occasion our fate is in our own hands and that the stabilization program has to be turned from words into deeds, and that will be an act by the masses, an act by all those in the SAWP. We cannot be satisfied with our realization of the principle of accountability. However, there are more and more examples where individuals have left their positions because they were unable to meet their obligations. And that should become a pattern of behavior that is quite customary and normal.

#### The Debt Is Not Something To Be Ashamed of

[Question] Today there is talk on all sides about the share of foreign capital in our economy, especially of participation without restriction. Are we sufficiently aware of the danger represented by imperialist policy? Did it issue us credits that large because it liked our eyes and is today exploiting us through usury?

[Answer] We have to open up new space to joint ventures. It is far better to open up that space than to follow the simple logic of borrowing and being only a debtor. After all, when we enter into joint ventures, we share the profit and the risk and also the technological know-how with one another. The experience we have had in this respect has been constructive so far. Of course, when we do this, we must always bear in mind that this be in the interest of strengthening socialist self-management rather than giving in to the interests of foreign capital or individuals.

We can in fact go on borrowing, that is nothing to be ashamed of, this is a normal thing in the present-day international economy. It is important that we know why we are borrowing and who will repay the credits and in what manner. In future we must plan borrowing over the long term. After all, the present balance of our debt is a heavy one and we must face this realistically. It does not do us much good to cry over the level of the debt and the interest.... We should have thought of that earlier. Now we need to honestly repay the debts, and at the same time to fight so that this is done under the most favorable conditions, in a climate in which the debtor and the creditor will agree jointly on all aspects.

[Question] You have often mentioned the economic stabilization program in this interview. It is not being carried out, but something else is being

persistently achieved—a drop in the standard of living of the working people. When people are on the edge of subsistence, can we think at all about their motivation to carry out the large-scale tasks contained in the program?

[Answer] We have no other alternative to the long-range program. Since that is the only way, as party members, as workers, as producers, and as intellectuals we must come together around that program. But not in order to reiterate it, but in order to carry it out in a self-management way. Progress is being made with great difficulty, deeper cuts are required and determination and creativity, yet many people are not ready for anything like that, since they are still living in an idyll of unhindered consumption. The fate of all forms of consumption in the stabilization program, including the standard of living, is that they be brought within the limits of real capabilities, but only in the first phase. The purpose of the stabilization is not a decline in the standard of living, but its gradual selective growth, of course on the basis of a growth of income. I agree with you: we have gotten into a situation where because of the steady drop in the standard of living we cannot step up the fight for higher output, exports and productivity. Only restrictive solutions can yield the results which we anticipate. It is not enough to cut back the scale of investments; it is important to change the structure of investments and to channel them into projects which will yield higher labor productivity. That also applies to consumption. We cannot win the battle for stabilization with general restrictions in the fields of science, education, health care and culture. After all, science has its indispensable function in the production process, in culture and in education as well. If that is cut back with general restrictions, wounds are inevitably opened up in the social organism which even before another day passes could be an important source of new instability. Of course that also applies to the standard of living.

Social welfare policy is not welfare, but a factor in development. Some people think that solidarity means maintaining things as they are, but it is only an instrument which will help in becoming accustomed to a lower level of consumption with less pain. Much the same is true of personal incomes: there is no real motivation for better conduct of economic activity if it is not also expressed through the personal income. It is quite natural that those who are leaders in output and exports cannot be included in the general restrictions on personal incomes; they are precisely the ones who need to be motivated, since they contribute most to stepping up the growth of the national income. We should even think about whether a rise of personal incomes in organizations of associated labor with excellent economic performance would give a thrust for more decisive suppression of everything that pulls us toward low productivity.

In the Socialist Alliance efforts are now being carried out on an entire program of specific activities aimed at protecting the standard of living: raising the minimum personal income, greater use of social welfare adjustments, subsidies of various kinds....

[Question] The professional managers of the large supermarkets tell me that they have increasingly frequent stealing of food, which did not occur earlier. There is more and more unemployment. Do you think that social upheavals are possible in Yugoslavia?

[Answer] I would put the question differently: Will we solve the problems which exist in the field of the standard of living or will we leave everything to chance and the breaking out of social conflicts? Experience has clearly demonstrated that conflict never raises income, but only aggravates the situation. Real results can be anticipated only if we seek solutions within the limits of the resources we possess with full subtlety and with a sensitivity to the real difficulties of the working people and their families, and all of this in the context of self-management relations. No playing on the card of demagoguery can be of help to us. Our people are aware of that.

What disturbs me more than anything else is that individuals suffer from bureaucratic blindness, that individuals seem to have lost a feeling for people's difficult problems, for the specific questions of the standard of living, since things are good for them at the moment. It is precisely the bureaucratic attitude toward people that can be a source of conflicts. I especially emphasize this, since there are no real opportunities for us to get out of this situation in 5 months, in a year. We have a difficult battle ahead, and we must not be observers, must not drag our feet, must not show panic or desertion in that battle. To conclude, we dare not seek solutions where there are none. We need unity today more than ever before, and that a unity on the strategic course of self-management and verified in deeds.

7045

CSO: 2800/6

LCY PRESIDIUUM ON IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

AU101042 Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian No 1436, 5 Oct 84 p 15

[The "Documents" column: "Views of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on Obligations of the LC Organizations and Organs in the Ideological Struggle"]

[Text] Discussing the implementation of the views of the fifth session of the LCY Central Committee on the current topical ideological-political problems and the LCY's tasks, the LCY Central Committee Presidium has noted that these views of the Central Committee are not being consistently implemented in all communities and that the necessary unity and determination are lacking in the LC's ideological actions and struggle. The LCY Central Committee Presidium therefore believes that it is necessary to ensure that the elaboration of the Conclusions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on Advancing the LC Activity in the Sphere of Ideological and Theoretical Work will be carried out actively, in unity, and continuously.

Two consultative meetings have been held for this purpose (in June and July 1984), which concerned themselves in the most concrete way with the tasks of strengthening the LCY's unity of ideology and action and especially of working out united LCY appraisals and views on the ideological situation in society and the LC as well as views on strengthening the ideological struggle of the League of Communists against the forces opposing socialist self-management.

It is through the entire activity of organizations and organs that the LCY must continue to prepare itself for active presence and activity within the democratic forms of the political system of socialist self-management--and especially in the sections and other forms of work of the Socialist Alliance, the Trade Unions, and the youth organization, as well as in the theoretical work--in order to enable us to constantly widen and fortify the front of socialist forces in this struggle, consistently implementing and developing socialist self-management and encouraging the initiative and creativity of people in all spheres of life, so as to advance our material and general social development and enrich the authentic values of the self-managing socialist society. It is particularly important to systematically perceive, examine, and uncover the contradictions appearing in socioeconomic development and in the development of socialist self-management. In this connection,

the League of Communists and all organized socialist forces base their activity on the already achieved revolutionary results, on the achievements and creative accomplishments of our entire society, and on the achievements that reflect the general cultural development and creativity of our country. To enable itself to undertake this activity, the League of Communists must resolutely overcome its own ideological, organizational, cadre and other shortcomings that were especially pointed out by the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee. At the same time, the opposition of all antisocialist forces and forces opposing self-management must be resolutely and energetically broken.

The self-critical discussion has shown that, in this respect, the work of the League of Communists and its organs suffers from serious shortcomings. These shortcomings result from the long neglect of certain important aspects of ideological and theoretical activity and of the long neglect of certain important aspects of ideological and theoretical activity and of the ideological-political struggle of the League of Communists, from the strong manifestation of opportunism and practicism in its own ranks, from serious trends toward violation of unity in the LCY's ideological struggle, and from insufficient preparation by communists for the difficult tasks of the ideological struggle.

The necessary linkage and joint actions in relation to important ideological and social problems are lacking in many actions of the republican and provincial organizations of the League of Communists. The necessary initiative and activeness in jointly working out united appraisals and views are also lacking in the bodies of the LCY Central Committee.

Learning from all past work and from, these experiences, it is our duty to resolutely overcome and eliminate these phenomena from work, phenomena that have resulted from inactiveness, mistakes, lack of linkage, and impermissible omissions and shortcomings in the mutual relations of individual organizations and organs. It is for this purpose that the LCY Central Committee determines the following views:

1. It follows from the essence of the LC's social role that its organs and organizations must constantly monitor ideological trends, have a comprehensive insight into ideological developments in their communities and in the whole of society, and examine all important ideological phenomena and tendencies as well as the activities of the ideological-political opponents. This requirement assumes even greater importance under the conditions of the difficult struggle for the implementation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program. We must continuously develop the conscious activity and initiative of the working people, young people, and all organizations and self-managing factors of the society headed by the communists, overcoming ideological differences and occurrences of ideological confusion, and must resolutely break the opposition to the further successful development of our society. The League of Communists must concern itself with rallying, preparing for action, and engaging its own creative potential as well as the creative potential of all progressive forces which struggle for socialism and self-management. In future, the analysis of ideological phenomena, including the

activities of ideological opponents, as well as the public struggle against them must be considered as an obligation of all LC organs and organizations. We must resolutely oppose those who dispute the right and responsibility of the League of Communists to be active in the ideological struggle against the antisocialist forces and forces opposing self-management. The professional struggle services and Marxist centers must concretely work out their share of tasks in this connection.

2. The LC forces in every individual community are responsible, most strongly called upon, and--in view of their broader and more comprehensive insight--most qualified to objectively perceive and appraise the ideological phenomena which they themselves directly encounter. In this connection, it is their duty to adhere to the LCY program orientations, the views of the congresses, and the appraisals and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee. In their regular mutual working communications and within the framework of the LCY Central Committee, the LC organizations and organs must also point out and call attention to certain phenomena in other communities if they believe that these phenomena are or can be of wider importance or that certain current ideological-political problems are being neglected.

The LCY Central Committee, especially its Presidium, and its commissions and working bodies charged with ideological-theoretical work, information, and the LC ideological struggle, bear an extraordinarily great responsibility in all this to take concrete initiatives to a greater extent than in the past, to coordinate the individual actions of common interest, and to more actively participate in the processes of developing a united policy in the LCY ideological struggle. The justified avoidance of tendencies of arbitrary actions and of imposition of uniformity should not be a reason for any delays or even for standing on the sidelines in solving the open problems and disputed issues in the relations of LC organizations and organs. These problems must be completely openly and responsibly discussed and resolved primarily within the LCY organs. The individual appraisal and statements that provoke uncertainty, suspicions, and divisions among the broad public must not be passed over in silence. The Presidium and the working bodies of the LCY Central Committee must reach practical accords, ensure more frequent and direct mutual exchange of information, and participate in the concrete processes of developing a unity policy in the entire LCY.

3. Experience has shown that the neglect of LC activities to constantly monitor ideological phenomena, trends in society, and the activities of the antisocialist forces and forces opposing self-management, result in negative consequences. A sharp outburst of certain hostile tendencies that have manifested themselves over a long period, but to which we have failed to devote appropriate attention, have caught us insufficiently prepared. We are confronted with the practice of avoiding resolute resistance or of reacting insufficiently deliberately or hastily. Opportunism and practicicism as well as the LC's ideological defensive are resulting in the phenomena of confusion, faintheartedness, liberalist acceptance of opposition actions, and even instances of ideological coexistence with alien ideologies in our own ranks. What is also a cause for concern is a widely spread occurrence of penetrations of petit bourgeois influence, trash literature, and false values which the Marxist critique, the educational and training work, and the total

social activity fail to successfully resist by asserting the human values of our society. As a result of the insufficient dissemination of mutual information and the failure to organize in good time systematic ideological-political discussions at the LCY level, our activity is often insufficiently coordinated and united and the disputed issues are not resolved in good time in order to implement more successfully the united views and perform common tasks.

All this shows that we must be far more organized, operative, and effective in this activity. Nothing should jeopardize the need to further strengthen the ideological initiative and the aggressive actions of our theoretical and political forces in the ideological struggle and in the entire LCY. The hostile attempts must always and everywhere be given a clear, resolute, and public answer.

4. In determining the views of the organs of the League of Communists, it is extraordinarily important to formulate as complete and precise appraisals as possible of the meaning, character, and range of certain phenomena in the ideological sphere, and most certainly as complete and precise appraisal as possible of the actions and attacks of the ideological and political opponents.

If the fact is recognized that there are differences in our views on the individual problems, and that a public manifestation of these differences would undermine the unity and the reputation of the LCY as a whole, then we must use every opportunity to clear up these differences as thoroughly as possible through a democratic discussion within the League of Communists, and to overcome them. In this connection, it is the responsibility of all leaderships of the republican central committees and the provincial committees to take the initiative and seek clarifications at the LCY level, and the LCY Central Committee Presidium and its working bodies especially must play an active role in this connection and assume a special responsibility for forming united views as quickly as possible. And when a united view is formulated, then it is a statutory obligation of every individual LC member and every individual member of the LC leaderships to behave and act in accordance with this view, that is, the principle of democratic centralism applies to all LC members. The public activity of members of the LCY leading organs is an integral part of the ideological struggle. In this connection they must speak and act in accordance with the united LC policy and views. Any attitude contrary to this rule is contrary to the valid LCY norms.

5. A comprehensive insight into the ideological trends and into concrete ideological phenomena, and the appraisals of and the views on them, form the basis for definite actions of communists and other socialist forces and for public activities in the ideological struggle and the advancement of the ideological work in general. Consultations and accords on these actions and their implementation represent an extraordinarily important task. The LC organizations and organs must approach this task very carefully, with serious deliberations and solid preparations.

Our actions must be aimed at widening the ideological and political influence [of the LCY], channelling society's creative potential along the lines of LC policy, at thereby strengthening the reputation of the League of Communists,



and at ideologically and politically isolating and suppressing its opponents. No form or means of ideological activity can be a goal unto itself, and it is not good if it fails to achieve such results, but the absence of ideological work and struggle yields the smallest results. Therefore we must strengthen and carry out our actions.

It is on this basis and on the basis of a strict adherence to the LCY Program and the adopted LC policy that the unity of ideology and action of communists, of all our organizations and organs, of all republican and provincial leagues of communists, and of the entire LCY must be built. This requires strong bonds between us, our mutual exchange of information, joint discussions and full cooperation, especially in relation to the issues on which certain differences are apparent, and a higher degree of responsibility of all LC leaderships.

The press, publications, and other public media must act as levers of our broad socialist front and must continuously strive to be capable of fulfilling this role and responsibility. The LC leaderships and organizations must intensify responsibility and must take the appropriate measures in the event of any abuses of these media, as well as in the event of any behavior of the communists in the media which is contrary to the adopted LCY policy and norms.

6. In the ideological-political struggle, the LC organizations and organs should not act in isolation or encapsulated within their narrow circles but must instead be firmly linked with the broadest socialist self-managing forces and must act together with the increased and developed potential of the creative cultural and arts workers. The ideological struggle of the League of Communists is also their orientation because the basic purpose of this struggle is to advance our material and spiritual culture and to develop the true humanist values of the socialist self-managing society. Those who jeopardize them threaten not only socialism, self-management, and the League of Communists but, to no lesser extent, also the culture, the true creative work, and all humane and moral values. Therefore all socialist, humanist, and progressive forces and all cultural, scientific, and artistic potentials of our society must be united in the struggle against them. The communists must strive to establish firm bonds with these forces, not only to find support in them, but also to determine and pursue the line of their struggle in unison with them.

CSO: 2800/28

YUGOSLAVIA

BILIC CHAIRS MEETING ON ALL-PEOPLE'S DEFENSE

LD102242 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1522 GMT 10 Oct 84

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Oct (TANJUG)--At a meeting held in Belgrade today under the chairmanship of Jure Bilic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, executive secretaries of the LC Central and Provincial Committees Presidiums and the Presidium of the Committee of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army responsible for all-people's defense and social self-protection, discussed the extent to which all-people's defense and social protection problems are represented in the public discussion on the draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session.

According to reports it was stressed that the proposed conclusions pointed out tasks which would make a vital contribution to efforts to raise the defensive and self-protective capability of our society. Consequently, it is easy to understand why the present party debate can not ignore the realization of the LC's leading role and responsibility in all-people's defense and social self-protection. It was stressed in this connection that during these discussions LC organizations and organs in every environment should critically analyze the state of affairs in the defense and self-protection system and the topical aspects of the way the system is organized and functions and that they should initiate actions aimed at constantly perfecting and consolidating it. Particular attention is required in this connection to the measures and activities which should be introduced in order to increase the effectiveness of social self-protection in view of the constant lagging behind and of the problems currently encountered in that field. Details were given at the meeting on the most important activities of the republican and provincial LC and LCY organs in the field of all-people's defense and social self-protection. The executive secretaries also exchanged views on their work plans for 1985 and agreed on further joint actions.

CSO: 2800/28

## KOSOVO PRESIDENT RECEIVES TANJUG OFFICIALS

LD112134 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1135 GMT 11 Oct 84

[Text] Pristina, 11 Oct (TANJUG)--Nebi Gasi, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, today received Mihailo Saranovic, and Mladen Arnautovic, director and chief and responsible editor of the TANJUG, respectively, and Djordje Jevtic, responsible editor of the TANJUG editorial board for Kosovo. The agency's representatives acquainted Gasi with TANJUG work and efforts to present to the public the complete socio-political activity of Kosovo's subjective forces, led by the League of Communists, in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism and other kinds of nationalisms and in their efforts to stabilize the economic circumstances in the province.

Nebi Gasi, president of the Kosovo presidency, made a positive assessment of TANJUG's work and of its editorial board for the province and stressed that it reported constructively and in a mobilizing manner, on the events and processes in this province, making thus a contribution to the struggle of progressive forces.

Informing the TANJUG representatives of the situation in Kosovo, Nebi Gasi stressed in particular the favorable trends in the economy in the past few months and the very good export results, in particular in the convertible currency area.

He also pointed to the positive elements in the political security situation, and he placed special emphasis on the fact that among the working class of Kosovo there were no nationalistic burdens or excesses. The president of the Kosovo presidency also spoke about the employment problem as one of the major issues which Kosovo face, and due to which some radical measures, such as the introduction of a national loan in order to overcome the existing situation, were now under consideration.

Speaking about the emigration problem, Negi Gasi spoke of the efforts to prevent, above all, pressures on Serbs and Montenegrins and to create a climate of mutual trust and working, housing and other conditions for the return to Kosovo of those who wish to do so.

TANJUG representaives spoke today with Azem Vlasi, president of the municipal committee of Pristina LC, on the political and economic juncture in Kosovo's capital and on the work of the TANJUG editorial board for the province.

While in Pristina, the TANJUG director and chief and responsible editor, also spoke with the leaderships of RILINDJA, JEDINSTVO, TAN, as well as of Pristina radio and television on cooperation between TANJUG and those information media, about firmer ties, exchange of experience and technical and business cooperation.

CSO: 2800/28

## BOSNIAN EDITION OF KOMUNIST DENOUNCES KNJIZEVNA REC

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 84 pp 20-21

[Article\* by Esad Zgodic: "Betrayal of Humanism: This Is How It Is Done by KNJIZEVNA REC"]

[Text] In one segment of our literary and theoretical output there is a striking tendency, in the name of the autonomy of the literary function and freedom of every kind of creation, but with a clear political calculation, to seek and practice a typically unliterary and nontheoretical program: universal appeasement of all participants in our National Liberation War and protagonists of the counterrevolution. In order to achieve that, one must invalidate the purpose, the motives, the participants and the results of the National Liberation War and the socialist revolution.

## The Tribal Mind

In one version that goal is achieved by advocating the nationalistic-bourgeois conception of the nationality as something sacred which has been made divine. Although it usually hides behind its literary uniform, this conception is emerging as the basis of nationalistic romanticism. This transforms the nationality into a secularized deity which grants and takes away the purpose of individual life and the historical commitment of the social collectivity, and especially the intellectual, who imagines himself to be an absolute protector, healer and builder of the ethnic cause. It is an inviolable transhistorical generality which in one segment of the national-romanticist "poetry" and "literature" is set up and treated as a pagan deity. Whatever efforts they made to court the citizenry of Europe, which is their explicit obsession, these individuals remain in both their consciousness and their language at the level of the tribal "mind." That is, they interpret our National Liberation War in the language of a bloody perception: brother and sister, father and son, mother and daughter died in it. Man is reduced to his family-biological definition. Every historically produced definition of man has been lost in these "works." Man is not even conceived any longer in harmony with the European spiritual tradition which lost out and to which this "literature" frequently

\* The text we are publishing is an abridged version of the article published in the last issue of KOMUNIST, edition for SR [Socialist Republic] Bosnia-Herzegovina.

appeals; man is no longer either homo sapiens or zoon politikon, nor homo ludens, nor homo faber; in the poet's conceit he is simply brother and sister, mother and son, father and daughter, and so on. Thus all the riches of man's individual life have been abolished--all has been reduced to definition by blood line, his sense of the historical has been erased, he is returned to the beginning. For those quasi-creators a poetic-literary form is only an alibi for purveying a false humanism: betrayal of humanism stands as its basis.

In this "literature" the nationality is conceived as social reproduction of the family organism, which the tribal consciousness then easily transforms into a naturalized deity, that is, into something native, out of time, in the blood. On that basis, which ends in a nationalistic obsession, the thesis will emerge that our National Liberation War supposedly destroyed that organism of the nationality nonsensically and that therefore the organism should now be brought back to health in the form of a universal appeasement. They proclaim our revolution to have been an immoral, vain and nonsensical decanting of the unified national superorganism of that biological family stretched wide and extended in space. The nationality is a family community of people, so that no revolution has the historic right in the name of its relative ideological illusions to destroy the ethnic identity, which is something natural, holy and deified. The leveling out of tracks in the past, the rehabilitation and negation of the revolutionary which our National Liberation War brought onto the historical scene are sought in the name of that ethnicity, conceived in its biological-blood immovability, emptiness, and concrete-historical impersonality.

#### The Nationality as a Community of Mortals

Niko Grafenauer made himself heard in a recent triple issue of KNJIZEVNA REC.

He does not want to be at the level of the previous pagan, tribal consciousness in his alleged defense of man and ethnic life. He is, he explains, a European in spirit and a European Spirit on our soil. He therefore wants to move on the heights of European philosophy: he selects individualistic-existential "philosophy." What is its result?

Even in his conception of Man all trace is lost of real concrete individuals. He says: "Since death is death and cannot be preceded by any ideological sign, it is the same for everyone. In the light of that truth there is no just or unjust death, only the facts which defy it can be that." Or, once again, on the subject of death: "Everyone has already been 'laid' in the grave by the fact of his birth, although he never knows when it will be closed over him. Like it or not, he is marked by that truth. He exists in the truth of death." When that trivial thought about the relation between man and death, in the "learned form" of an "ontology of death" it is true, is concretely applied to the historical space of the National Liberation War, then the conclusion is unambiguous: the participants in the revolution and the counterrevolution must lose all real, meaningful and concrete-historical definitions. In that fateful period for all our nationalities and ethnic minorities he sees only Man in the image of Death, and in the name of that image he seeks universal appeasement and erasure of all the traces of the deeds of the revolution and

indeed also of the misdeeds of the counterrevolution. That difference is irrelevant; it is the result of "ideological" errors imposed by the irrationalities of destiny.

But the theological acrobatics do not end there. The laughable speculation is carried over to the ethnic plane. Man is mortal. But, being mortal, he is also ethnic; he is in this case also a Slovene. Man is a mortal Slovene.

Man is mortal in two senses: man as man and man as Slovene. Since the Slovene supposedly exists historically only in the manner of Death. So, if he were not a Slovene, he would be mortal only once. And that completes the speculation, the ridiculous caprice of a mind gone childish is over. The result of this "high erudition" is a comical thesis: the nationality is a community of mortal men. The nationality is a community of men identical in their theological, metaphysical and concrete-social destiny--death. It is in that name that all members of a nationality should be appeased if the whirlwind of chance has set them apart and brought them into conflict. After all, what distinguished them in that identity--death--is always, indeed even in the course of the National Liberation War and socialist revolution, an empty, random and relative ideological error, an historical accident, the nonsense of the revolution, fanaticism of the doctrinaire, and so on. Like a frightened medieval religious hermit, Niko Grafenauer, in the name of the truth of death as the truth of the aggregate human, and thereby also of the ethnic identity, denies the sense of any struggle whatsoever for the new, the progressive, the humanism that is to come. After all, for him death has no ethical-historical significance. That ontology of death degrades man, although it appears to cherish him. Which is why here again we are dealing with a betrayal of humanism, just as in the case of the "tribal poetry." Even in the metaphysics of death all the concrete and meaningful definitions of concrete-historical individuality of both people and nationalities have been lost. Quite simply, theological mystification ignores the existence of concrete, living and empirical individuals. A man no longer figures as a multitude of his real definitions, as this or that, the one or the other, but simply as only one and all--as death.

### Theological Terror

Paradoxically, what is advocated the most in this accusatory criticism of our self-managing socialist society experiences the fate of the most shameful treason. Man as individual is destroyed in this "learned" philosophy. After all, it measures every one of his acts by death and treats death as a static and meaningless curse, which is on the other side of time and history, of human good and hope, of the meaning of life and of revolutionary struggle. All other human values have been lost before it. The "pro-European" intelligentsia of Niko Grafenauer denies the philosophy of "walking upright" which is inherent in the human being. He cannot understand that the question of death both in everyday life and in an age of historical upheaval, and indeed in our revolution, is not a question of external ideological relativizations. The death of a fighter for an "existence-yet-to-come" and for its coming and a death on the front of the struggle against the light of humanity's "walking upright" in the future cannot be put in the same pot of historical destiny.

That is not the same death nor the identical destiny. The difference cannot be explained in terms of positive and negative ideologies. This is an insinuation, primitivism and a political calculation. Death is not an "empty generality" in which it is possible to do away with that part of human life which is not identical. That which is different within the identical nature of death, to the contrary, even in our revolution is related to the conscious, but often also spontaneous life choice to adhere to the mainstream of the historical process of emancipation. It is a question of attitude toward the victory of the historical-liberative segment of our revolution. To be or not to be with that mainstream at the level of history--it is by that that one evaluates as just or unjust, ethical or immoral, a life or death, and it is that which is unidentical in the abstract eclipse of the metaphysics of death preached by Niko Grafenauer.

Remaining in the abstract theology of death as the god and ungod of the human being, he can, but with transparent political motives, cram all members of a nationality into the same abstract metaphysical basket, regardless of whether they were on the line of opening up new historical possibilities for the free life of a people, on the line of the truth of the revolution and of gaining something new and better for all humanity. We are all the same in death--that is a mystification of a theologizing spiritualist in which he would drown not only the meaningful riches of the concrete individual, which is least of all reducible to death as an existence, but even the very need of men and of a people to fight against social fetters and for a better world. It is, of course, only in his own head that he will erase the historical meaning of our revolution in Death as a metaphysical constant, and, of course, only in an illusory way that he will eradicate from the face of the earth all differences between men, their deeds and misdeeds, lies and the truth, hope and hopelessness, and that he will erase all the meaningful riches of an epochal period--the period of the National Liberation Struggle. In that truth of theological terror every historical advance and the particularity of the people who stood up for it have been extinguished. The meaning of the struggle of the Slovenian people for their own freedom, that is, of its freedom-loving and progressive majority, has, of course, been destroyed only in the thoughts of this "theologian." By virtue of that ontology of death the author narcissoidally believes that he has remained at the level of the highest European summits of philosophy. But in fact he has remained on the lower branches of a European annihilistic metaphysics vanquished long ago, a metaphysics which always, as again in this case, ends in a sterile theology of fear and death. On the historical plane he has remained far below the highest summits of historical progress, which was also opened by our socialist revolution and which, with the force by which progress makes its way in history, will not and cannot be halted either by this castrated theology of death or by any other of the kind.

#### Nihilistic Aggression

That, then, is how it is done by KNJIZEVNA REC and that "metropolitan humanist" Gojko Tesic. The idleness and ease of these quasi-intellectuals and would-be defenders of human dignity have ended in open hostility toward the human mind and toward humanism. And all of this under the aegis of their freedom of thought and the struggle for freedom of creativity. It is in the name of such



bourgeois values that not only the meaning and results of the National Liberation War and the socialist revolution, but also the policy of the LCY in the domain of interethnic relations and its entire historical role, socialist self-management and the working class, and Marxism in its authentic form have come under the attack of a malicious nihilistic aggression in KNJIZEVNA REC, but with a calculated political idea; even our country's foreign policy of nonalignment could not be left unspared by the illness of that counterrevolutionary "mind." And all of this is given in the "herbarium" of a group of "orthodox humanists," "defenders of the freedom of thought," "heirs of the European pluralistic tradition," and the like. In the form of its triple issue KNJIZEVNA REC has finally removed the camouflage from what it means by "freedom of creativity" as well as from its political position.

The question is how it was possible and what are all the implications of the fact that KNJIZEVNA REC was entirely prepared and edited in this edition by Gojko Tesic? What was the role of the editorial staff in all this, and did it grant some form of consent to Gojko Tesic to do this "dirty work" of his? If not, Gojko Tesic illegally prepared and edited KNJIZEVNA REC?

These are all questions which have to do with the sphere of legality, democracy, standards governing collective work, and the like. And all these aspects have been evaded in the name of "freedom of thought." Aside from that anarchical aspect which the well-intentioned reader will encounter right on the second page of KNJIZEVNA REC, there is yet another calculated but shameful fact which arouses distrust and presentiment of an "evil tongue." The "non-regime" enjoyment of "freedom" in Gojko Tesic's version also presupposes the freedom to display his own narcissoid nature. G. Tesic took care to sing a true ode to his own persona in several contributions. Velimir Viskovic also distinguishes himself in that: with an inconceivable superciliousness he wrote the "elegy" of KNJIZEVNA REC to Gojko Tesic, who up to now has been its "first man."

That act, as well as the other texts, has even previously indicated and does now indicate something "rotten" in KNJIZEVNA REC and indeed even among certain members of the editorial staff.

7045

CSO: 2800/502

## 'SELF-CENSORING' ALTERATION OF PUBLISHED TEXTS DECRIED

Belgrade KNJIZEVNA REC in Serbo-Croatian No 238-240, Summer 1984 p 38

[Article by Dusan Ivanic: "Censored Inheritance"]

[Text] The modern reader will be surprised when he observes that the long-ago interred--as Djura Jaksic has said--late lady censorship has appeared like a vampire, and is again bringing into this world abortive undertakings. However, the old lady has always been adaptable in finding new guises and new roles--now saving the morals of the immoral, now the faith of the atheist, now the authority of those who long ago lost it, now the social order in the name of those who have usurped it, or the public opinion for those who carry out everything in secret. Durable and busy, the old lady has arrived to dictate the decisions of working people's assemblies, publishing councils and editorial staffs, the conduct of editors and proof-readers, and the writing done by lexographic units.

Thus, although nonexistent, the old lady lets herself be seen more frequently, and the examples which will be given here are only some of the chance selections from numerous meetings. Both examples are superficially different considering that the act of censorship was carried out in one both incompletely and overtly, while in the other it was carried out covertly and almost completely. It is important that in the first case the censorship counted on a certain perspective of officially permitted opinions and that it was carried out mercilessly, and in the second it was known that the act of censorship could not be formalized but that it was in line with official conduct, and it was carried out no less arrogantly.

The first instance was noticed in the modern edition of the texts of the memoirs of Kosta N. Hristic, "Zapisi Starog Beogradjanina" ["Observations of an Old Resident of Belgrade"] (Prosveta, Belgrade 1983: Bastina Library). These observations were first printed in daily newspapers during the 1920's, and were then published in two books in 1923 and 1925, and in one book in 1937 with a wider circulation. Their author--a prominent Serbian diplomat during the time of Obrenovic, later a loyal subject of Kradjordjevic, but even afterwards an Obrenovic follower in spirit--published his recollections of the people and the circumstances of old Belgrade and Serbia as a pensioner before his death (1927). The past life and times seemed like a dream to him--as it did to both Dositej and Protta Matej--one great imaginative vision. The act of

again publishing a text of such value by the editor of the library was a worthy one. But the way in which this text was to be published was decided in a strange manner. In the editor's remarks it says that some things had been shortened within the series of texts (there were eight), and that two of the texts had been omitted. However, there is no explanation as to why this was done, and a typical check established that the number of abbreviated texts is much greater than that enumerated in the editor's remarks. However, the problem lies not in this fact alone, but in the logic of the omissions which is consistent to a certain extent and which confirms clearly the profile of "dangerous" passages, or the index of prohibited subjects, names and spoken phrases, and spoken slogans used on special occasions. Someone has taken upon himself the role of censorship and has omitted everything which does not agree with the way he thinks, or with what he assumed might have shocked the susceptible reader and led him to the temptation of actualization. The unique, preventive and recurrent censorship intervenes in a text which was put together almost 60 years ago, a text which was the work of a monarchist, a follower of Obrenovic, a text which was to a great extent unsuitable even for Karadjordjevic, making it suitable for the prescribed thoughts and afterthoughts of the modern reader. Would it have not been easier and better to print the work of some modern memoirist, innocent and suitable, than to demonstrate with this edition how history, and the human thoughts it contains, is changeable, and only our relationship--actually indifference--to all cultural traditions is durable! There is no censorship of what is printed, but what is reprinted is censored.

It is interesting to look at the "index of prohibited passages" as a way of hypothesizing about everything that is unsuitable or dangerous for our contemporaries. Without striving to assemble a complete list, we will single out those which are the most notable: 1) quotations from the Bible, the mentioning of the words God, Jesus Christ, the occasional expressions in which these words come up, and even Easter and Christmas, have not always passed through successfully. In the recollection entitled "Dvadeset deveti maj" ["The Twentieth of May"], the last passage was omitted: "And that is why we conclude these sad recollections of 29 May 1968 with this sad admonishment of the divine martyr on the cross, with the admonishment which the Russian sculptor Mikesin carved on the monument planned to be erected on the place where the prince was murdered in Kosutnjak: 'My people, for what I created for you, do you return to me Evil for Good?!'" In "Stari Beograd i stara policija" ["Old Belgrade and the Old Constabulary"], the following was omitted besides the introductory passages and the last passage: "The way our elders understood their duty and performed it, may God forgive them," etc. In "Ne ubij" ["Thou Shalt Not Kill"], the sentence "And today I am looking forward to Christmas thanking God that 44 years ago it did not turn out bad for me," was omitted. In "Cukur-cesma i bombardovanje Beograda" ["Cukur-cesma and the Bombing of Belgrade"], the last sentence is cut in two. Included is "Liberated by their blood and their patriotic self-sacrifice, Belgrade should give thanks to all of them today," and excluded is "and say reverently for all of them, each and every one, may God forgive them!" In the text "Na Bozicnoj dokolici" ["On Christmas Vacation"], the introductory passage was omitted, which begins with the sentence: "What do you think, which of the two great Christian holidays

is considered to be the more festive, and to which one does the world really look forward to the most, Easter or Christmas?" After these examples, the reader does not know if he should consider the change of the title from "Jedna uskrsnja uspomena" ["An Easter Memory"] to "Jedna uspomena" ["A Memory"] as merely an error in printing.

2) The concerned censor kept careful vigil over affirmative sentences concerning the Karadjordjevs, as well as those concerning King Milan in an incomplete manner, but mention of the Serbian patriarch is also excluded as well as mention of an eulogy to the progress which took place during Obrenovic's time; mention of the Serbian tricolor is excluded as well as Serbian territories, the emancipation and unification of the Serbian people, and political and polemical allusions of that time in which Matija Gubec, Smail-ara Cengic, Stjepan Radic, and Mehmed Spaho, Croatia and Croats, Bulgars and Bulgaria, Kosovo and Zmaj Jovan Jovanovic were found in a negative context, as if the thoughts of a monarchist and a follower of Obrenovic might agree with our tastes. Without attempting to cite here all of the passages excluded, we will give a few examples as illustrations. In the text "Povodom slave drugog puka" ["On the Occasion of the Fame of the Second Regiment"], which was left without an introductory paragraph and whose ending was simply butchered, we find near the end the passage (page 318): "I thought that the monument (of Prince Mihailo--D.I.) would be found decorated with banners, or at least that a very modest wreath would have been placed upon it," and the following was omitted from the original: "woven with the Serbian tricolor. And as the National Assembly was now in session, I imagined that our opstina representatives would be gathering around it on this occasion, as well as envoys from Bosnia and from southern Serbia, and from other Serbian territories, for whose liberation Prince Mihailo lived and worked." The following passage was cut in two. In the sentence "Should we really obscure our marvelous national past and our true national history with negligence and oblivion," a cut was made further on, and the following was omitted: "today, when others which by no means have it, fabricate and falsify it in spite of all their Hungarian Bans and Austrian Stathalters? Because in spite of all their centuries-old national existence and in spite of all their agreements and settlements, we had to have our 'peasant' king and our 'punishing' regiments arrive so that their Agram and Lajbah could become Zagreb and Ljubljana." Immediately after this, only the first sentence of the following passage remained ("Ashamed of our citizens of Belgrade, I took my leave of the city"), and everything subsequent to it was eliminated, without any sort of indication in the text that this had been done, just as it was with all over exclusions: "On the way I reflected whether the emissaries of the republicans of Stjepan Radic and the self-rule followers of Mehmed Spaho, taking advantage of this incredible indolence of ours, would not present this 'condition' as well-- that they, in front of the former Austrian Guverman, for whom they so enthusiastically cheered at one time, and whom they certainly have sincerely missed even now, remove the monument of Prince Mihailo and place a monument of Matija Gubac and Smail-aga Cengic in its place." In the article "Cukurcesma i bombardovanje Beograda," the following sentence was left out in the first passage: "Along this path upon which the blood of our best sons flowed, and which was covered with countless victims, it (the Serbian nation--D.I.) finally emerged victoriously into the light of day, great, free, and united."

Sometimes the censor dozed off, and he allowed "the respondent royal wedding" to pass by the prince's monument, and in the very next passage excluded the following (page 214): "The Serbian guns loudly greeted the arrival of the royal bride in her new native country from there a few days ago, and formally announced the start of the happy life which our whole nation wholeheartedly wished for their queen." In the memoir "Od Djunice do Kumanova" ["From Djunice to Kumanovo"], more passages were omitted, for example: "This was Kosovo, which was opened wide to the Serbian army." On page 250, the reader will not find the sentence: "A new spirit of freedom spread, and new hopes of a happier national future flowed from his throne (Prince Mihailo--D.I.) upon which all eyes of the Balkan nations were fixed." Later, on page 251, the whole passage which begins with this sentence was omitted: "This important period of formulation and patriotic work cannot be ignored or erased from our history," etc., and this was omitted on page 256: "The Serbian patriarch tried to pay off the Christian debt to this reverent Christian and honorable man with his personal presence."

It is not necessary to exhaust either the reader or myself by quoting and rewriting everything which was left out of "Zapisi starog Beogradjanina" by Kosta N. Hristic. All this says a great deal about the state of our awareness, about our relationship to somebody else's texts, about the capriciousness of meddling with somebody else's thoughts and discourses. What does an author achieve with this neutralization of the political and other aspects of a former time in the texts, and what does the modern reader get out of the text by the creation of a false work? Instead of speaking critically in an epilogue or in commentaries about ideas and theses which have not been introduced into our modern awareness as a part of the humanistic inheritance in the national area and the larger area of Yugoslavia, they are simply brushed aside, and so a proper dialogue between the past and the present is brought to an end. What will happen if these kinds of methods are kept up using the texts of our contemporaries after only half a century? Being irresponsible towards the writer is equivalent to being irresponsible to the reader and to the truth.

A superficially different relationship to tradition can be found in the current, encyclopedic edition "Hrvatski bigrafski leksikon" ["Croatian Biographic Lexicon"] (Yugoslav Lexography Institute, Zagreb 1983), which in many respects is a serious production. In this work, traditions are acknowledged according to a formula which states that, in addition to prominent Croats, "prominent members of other nations and nationalities born on the soil of the Socialist Republic of Croatia" are also included in the edition. However, when one comes to these prominent individuals, members of other nations, there is no mention of the nationality to which they belong. Indeed, this formula has been used earlier and more effectively in "Enciklopedija hrvatske povijest i kulture" ["Encyclopedia of Croatian History and Culture"] (Skolska knjiga, Zagreb 1980) in the sentence: "Included also is a survey of the historical development and cultural heritage of members of other Yugoslav nations and nationalities within the Socialist Republic of Croatia," and when the settlement of "another" Yugoslav nation is described on the territory of Croatia, they are referred to as "groups of a foreign population, mostly of the Orthodox faith" (page 785), or they are referred to as a "category of foreigner (border-area

inhabitant)" who "occupies a prominent place" among the new residents (page 379). Do these foreigners indeed have a certain national identity and a cultural heritage of their own--these inhabitants who were mostly of the Orthodox faith, today mostly pagans, atheists and communists--or does the Orthodox faith still remain the only sign of identity for their tradition?

However, the relationship that these encyclopedic and biographic editions have to Serbian culture, the culture of the Serbian people in Croatia actually, is neither an exception nor a surprise for members of the Serbian race living in Croatia. More surprising is the fact that political institutions have severely criticized published work because of its relationship to the Serbian cultural heritage in Croatia, as if the problem of this culture is only in how it will be represented in a certain lexicon and not the general situation in which every form of demonstration of independent cultural activity during the development of national cultures in Yugoslavia was gradually abolished for this people, how this cultural activity was reduced to having a couple of newspapers (SRPSKA RIJEC and PROSVJETA), how it managed to publish a few issues of a scientific-literary journal and a few scientific publications so that everything could be finished with the discontinuation of the "Prosvjeta" Serbian cultural society by official decision of an authorized organ in 1980. With this decision came the republic's unification of the language which even disputed the national name to the language of the Serbian people, and banished every demonstration of the variant which had a stronger base in the Serbian national tradition from the press, radio, school and television. Thus, after many centuries of duration and the development of different cultural, literary and scientific institutions (school, press, society), every form of demonstration of national independence of Serbian culture in Croatia was extinguished (died out). (Only political representatives of this nation have endured, who have come out against assimilation!) What sort of national independence can there be in which the culture is not an integral part of the awareness of the people and its existence, and what sort of cultural cooperation and brotherhood is possible if all participants cannot equally exchange their cultural wealth?

Under these conditions, political objections to books which ignore Serbian culture in Croatia are experienced as cleansing an impure consciousness, and turning attention to secondary areas of concern as an incidental phenomenon of a situation which is being systematically promoted. They are experienced with cynicism--collaborators and editors of the criticized editions have proceeded precisely according to what is within the perspective of desirable thoughts and established practice. Censors always know how far they are allowed to go and who stands behind them. Thinking freely about everything, creating freely, the ideals of a distant time of enlightenment, these are only plays on words for them.

9548

CSO: 2800/491

ACTOR SERBEDZIJA ON RECENT CULTURAL EVENTS

Belgrade KNJIZEVNA REC in Serbo-Croatian No 238-240, Summer 1984 p 40

[Interview with actor Rade Serbedzija by Olga Kurjak-Pavicevic: "Theatre; Mausoleum for Art; Creative Artists--Rade Serbedzija"]

[Text] As soon as he had gotten his well-earned recognition in the Sterijino Theatre and had drunk his well-deserved spritzer, Serbedzija came to Belgrade for the making of Misa Radivojevic's new film.

[Question] Many people did not consider your behavior at the final performance at the Sterijino Theater to be quite civil...?

[Answer] I can be unpleasant, as can many people, I am certainly not extremely polite, there have been times when I have been more polite. Today, living one's life in this world, all sorts of things can come at a person, mostly misfortune. I don't have time to be polite with people whom I meet, especially with those in the profession. I have a decent, honest relationship with normal people, with the public. I have nothing more to apologize for in the theatre.

[Question] How do you put up with it?

[Answer] For quite some time now I have not let myself be mistreated by anyone in my profession. This spritzer is my momentary sense of the importance of that crowd. It's sad when you look at that theatrical festive performance as it appears. Behind the table in front of those awarded sat a group of about 10 journalists, tired from what they had gone through the night before in Novi Sad, satiated and completely satisfied, well-fed. Journalists who have spoken their minds about ideological and aesthetic movements in culture awaited the other winners. The more intelligent of them did not even come, because criteria of admiration no longer exists among our critics. Stronger than this is the ability to hate, the ability to offend, the inability to respect. And if they will not cheer for you, if they will not respect their poets, I can drink, I have the right to my spritzer. Once, during the Dionysian celebrations in Greece, they honored their poets. This planet grows increasingly cold for poets, this country is one of the coldest for poets and for art.

[Question] It is as if there is no political theater in Zagreb, there are no controversial shows. It must be awfully boring for you?

[Answer] There are no shows like that. What is political theater, what is a dangerous show? They said that "Golubnjaca" was dangerous, and they fought over it. I saw it, and attended a magnificent performance. Only malicious people find something bad in certain performances. The theater has always related to its time in a critical manner. Take Shakespeare, how many of his plays can be applied to the circumstances in which he lived. Moliere and his "Misanthrope," as well as "Dom Juan," can also be considered as unadulterated criticism of the society in which he lived. I myself don't know where some of these sermonizers come from, how they get the nerve to demand something different from the theater. They, I mean, society, that is, the patrons, demand that the theater be a mausoleum of art, picture books. Performances like these are proclaimed to be brilliant events of the decade. They demand peace and order in the realms of the spirit, but these peaceful and orderly works have always merited only scorn. The theater is like a filly which does not take to being only disciplined and restrained like this. This patron of ours, which gives shamefully little money, concern, and dignity to this same theater (I'm afraid that the ballet slippers of our ballerinas will be worn out, I fear that the strings in all our orchestras will start to rust, I fear that actors will cease wearing royal cloaks...), demands docility and obedience from the theater, I would almost say social-realistic action in the nurturing of the audience of 1984. Look, you can see that the news is full of consultations in the Zagreb Central Committee of Croatia concerning certain ideological developments in the areas of film, television, literature. Names are mentioned and called out. With such decorum and manner they proclaim that a reasonable man cannot find his way here. People are mentioned--great artists--and they are accused for what they have done and said. Things are exaggerated, and they take on the dimensions of a counterrevolution, as if the underground culture is guilty for everything that happens to us in social life. A white book is printed noting people and events which, in someone's opinion, spread unrest in our socialist life. And I wonder, would it not be far more honorable and honest to print a black book in which one could find out where the large economic and political failures of this country have taken place and who the people are who have committed them. All this clamor in Zagreb up to now about cultural deviations and all this focusing on Belgrade as a liberal center of opposition I consider to be either diverting attention away from the real problems of this society, or just plain stupidity. And this is--I mean, the stupidity--as Krleza says, equally stupid in a socialist society.

While attending this shameful event which originated from Zagreb, and while reading the criticisms against some persons from the cultural and political life of my city which missed the mark, I was irresistibly compelled to ask the question: Was there really no one among this honorable group of intellectuals who could call this group by its proper name? And because of this I am signing and have signed the open letter of Matija Becković, which accidentally came to me while working in Belgrade. I won't let anyone throw me into any sort of directional opposition of Left or Right, fascist or liberal, nationalist or clericalistic, because of my act. By taking this action,



I want to say that there are people in this country who, thanks to some of the heritage of our socialist revolution, have learned how to think and to write openly, and this is a heritage which no one can prohibit. The boundaries of freedom which every one of us takes into his hands are a unique responsibility before life and before the world...

[Question] That was laborious. Of course, I had not expected to be lectured to, but nevertheless...

[Answer] I can only talk about what is bothering me. Everything else would be absurd now, inappropriate, even the question: What did you have in mind with your Leon? Time chooses its topics for conversation. Thus, in my opinion, this event in Zagreb is a topic about which people should begin to talk who are struggling for the dignity of their profession. There are actions which resemble those of nationalism. I am certain that the enemy of Yugoslavia is not sleeping and that he seeks a place where he can sow discord, but I am certain that this is not the way to fight. You might think: in what he is saying he brings to mind Desanka Maksimovic. I think that we are wise enough today, and educated enough, and that our sermonizers have underestimated us thinking that one vulgar verse in a vulgar poem about our exalted standards might be able to change and disrupt our picture of our past... A tasteless and vulgar poem only by itself will be read through and swallowed. I have always believed that we are the kind of democratic society which can decide for itself what to read, watch, listen to... Everything else would be controlled education and controlled culture, and we know what this has been called throughout history...

9548

CSO: 2800/492

## DISCUSSION OF BANNED BOOK ON 1968 STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 84 pp 13-16

[Article by Milomir Maric: "So Why Then the Bans"]

[Text] Why has the book by Zivojin Pavlovic "Ispljuvak pun krvi" [Spittle Full of Blood], a new little pebble in the mosaic of the disagreement over interpretations of the events involving our own students in 1968, been banned? Are the court verdicts "protecting the public from anxiety" over events 16 years old as effective as the esthetic or literary criticism which would put films and books about those events in their proper place? This way, in the shadow of bans every snippet, even the smallest, about Sixty-Eight, which soon will reach the age of majority, gathers about itself an undeserved aura of a courageous breakthrough into precincts which are taboo." The issue is taking on all the more importance and meaning because Sixty-Eight itself, in its original significance, is not an event even in the official reading whose artistic interpretation would produce the kind of book whose demagogic coloring would not allow discussion to other books, but would serve as an ideal occasion for invoking certain sections of the law.

So far the student demonstrations have received only a few vague lines in history.

In Branko Petranovic's book "Istorija Jugoslavije 1918-78" [History of Yugoslavia 1918-78] we find: "The rise in the number of unemployed, stagnation of production, the uneven spread of self-management, and unequal conditions for the conduct of economic activity, along with other difficulties in implementing the economic reform, led to aggravated situations, dissatisfaction of the working people, open protests and rebellions, especially in the form of work stoppages and the student demonstrations in June 1968 at Belgrade University and at the universities in Zagreb and Ljubljana. The dissatisfaction, even when it was expressed in a manner not conforming to self-management, even outside the LCY, essentially represented a demand for faster and more consistent achievement of self-management and its transformation to the integral social relation. Objectively brought about by unsolved problems of the economy and society, the public demonstration of dissatisfaction was emphasized by the new and far more democratic atmosphere in Yugoslavia after 1966. The student demonstrations could not be looked at in isolation from the great ferment among students in the world, especially in France and Germany in the spring of 1968.

Young people attending the university in Yugoslavia were reacting to the deformations in society, to the social polarization and to inequality. Without any very clear political vision, they emphasized the importance of government measures which would establish order and overcome the multiplied contradictions of social problems and would have created a cult of absolute equality in socialism. The working class did not take part in those demonstrations. Diverse enemies of Yugoslavia and of self-management tried to give a subversive tone to the student dissatisfaction and to use it to provoke greater conflicts, calling the course of the LCY into question."

#### Dilemmas of Everyday Life

As far as I know, elementary and secondary school books do not have even that much. History ends much earlier in them. Entire generations have grown up with a foggy memory of their parents having explained that student uprising to them--in differing ways.

The published works of Josip Broz Tito include his speech delivered 9 June 1968, which certain chroniclers have called the most liberal speech which the head of any state has ever delivered. The students believed that Tito was supporting them and taking them under his protection. They danced the dance of Kozara in front of the Law School, and some revolutionary rhymester in his enthusiasm wrote a song which was readily taken up by the crowd, which turned it into a semiofficial student anthem even though it is extremely illiterate and crude.

We believed, because we wanted to,  
In Tito we always gladly pledged to.  
Oh, students, you young brothers,  
You are not alone in Belgrade's center.

"I have come to believe that the rebelliousness that existed in young people, in the university students, was spontaneous," Tito said at the time in his speech. "But that gradually, as the demonstrations developed and later moved from the street into the lecture halls and classrooms at the University, there was a certain infiltration of various elements hostile to us who do not stand on socialist positions, who do not take the positions of the 8th LCY Congress, who are not in favor of implementing the economic reform. In a word, there was an infiltration of those elements which wanted to use that situation in pursuit of their own aims. And here there are various tendencies and various elements, from the most reactionary all the way to those most extreme pseudo-radical elements containing an echo of Mao Tse Tung's theory. However, I have come to believe that the enormous majority, I might say 90 percent, of the university students were honest young people to whom we have not paid sufficient attention, whom we saw only as schoolchildren, only pupils in the schools whose time had not yet come to become involved in the life of our socialist community. That was a mistake. We left them to themselves. We are examining that mistake of ours."

Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo, a member of the Council of the Federation and at that time a member of the highest leadership, has described in numerous

interviews the atmosphere and dilemmas in the highest government leadership during the student unrest: "The beginning, 2 days later, in the Presidium was rather fierce, since many felt that this was the counterrevolution and took a negative view of the matter. Even young Kocijancic (president of the League of Yugoslav Youth--M. M.). They said that this was in the streets, that we had nothing to discuss as to our reaction. I could not restrain myself: 'You talk about streets, when these are our children!' That stirred things up a bit. Tito cut the meeting short, summoned me and told me to tell him all the details: What I had said, what we had talked about, what questions the students had put? Then I said all this in the meeting, which was resumed. Some members asked me if I had asked the task force for permission to go talk to the students? I said: 'I know nothing at all, nor do I want to know about the existence of any task force to fight the students at the university.... We have come into conflict with the young generation, and I say that it is they who are continuing the revolution.'"

#### When Does a Child Become a Man?

The action program of the Belgrade students dating from June 1968 looks pretty much ready-made and appears rather mild compared to the current resolutions and diagnoses of the situation in society and the ever more stringent demands for overcoming the general crisis. On behalf of resolving the central problems of our socialist society at that time more quickly and effectively, the students deemed it urgently necessary to reduce social inequities, to eliminate privileges, to solve the problem of unemployment among trained young people, to remove the bureaucratic forces and establish the relations of self-management more rapidly, to establish personal responsibility, to democratize all the public and political organizations, especially the LC, to prevent the commercialization of culture and to undertake reforms of the educational system.

It is assumed that as a result of the demonstrations some of the student demands were incorporated into the Guidelines for Further Development of the LCY which were adopted, that the Law on Trainees was passed, that the minimum personal income was raised from 15,000 to 35,000 old dinars and the material welfare of university students was improved in relative terms by the introduction of student loans and formation of Tito's Fund. As a token gesture the Pane Djukic Center of the State Security Administration was turned over to the use of the university students and became the Student Cultural Center.

In spite of the prophecies of STUDENT, the newspaper of Belgrade university students, the students did not, nor could they have, become the principal revolutionary force for a better and fairer society. Possibly they sobered up and wised up. That is, immediately after the June events the newspaper of Belgrade university students wrote: "Student! What did that word mean a week ago?... A young person living in a triple room with four of his fellow students, between walls covered with pictures of nude actresses.... Uncaring, immoral and without ideals."

It is a wonder that in the general euphoria and self-satisfaction they did not say of that superman: "Student--how proud it sounds!"

It is interesting that the well-known student events were in a way anticipated back in 1964 by one of the authors in POLITIKA in a story in that paper: "Perhaps there is truth in that witicism of Socrates': A child becomes a man when milk no longer drips from his mouth.... At one time university students carried the revolution, now they are milkmen."

#### The Library That Was a Tower of Babel '68-Style

A few days ago the morning headline was: "The Book Will Be Destroyed."

Regardless of what book it was, it had the impact of a delayed echo from forgotten ages.

The Supreme Court of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia had upheld the decision of the Belgrade District Court dated last 30 July permanently banning publication of Zivojin Pavlovic's book "Ispljuvak pun krvi." According to the verdict of the court, it contains alarming assertions about the 1968 student events which could upset the public.

In Divcibare Zivojin Pavlovic said a bit absently: "To bad about the photographs, people could have seen the way it really was."

He was connected to '68 in that during those 7 days in June, he says, he kept a diary and together with Borislav "Mihiz" Mihajlovic and Zika Stojkovic, in his position as a distinguished writer and film director, he wrote a letter of support to the students which was later signed by a large number of figures in public and cultural life. Every evening he noted down what he had heard and seen during the day. And he was always an observer on the scene when things happened. Of course, in Belgrade that week nothing else even existed. Neither family, nor food, job or any other duties. There was an uninterrupted fever and suspense as to what would happen in the end. Would the students violate the ban and go out into the streets, and who would join them? Together with comments written that same autumn this "diary of a defeat" constitutes Zivojin Pavlovic's book "Ispljuvak pun krvi."

"That evening when the skirmish occurred in New Belgrade between the students and the members of the brigade, I was walking with my wife in Kalemegdan," Pavlovic recalls. "The next morning someone (whose name is given in the book) called me on the telephone. Nor did that person have the clearest idea of what had happened and what was happening. At Prosveta [publishing house--translator's note] I met two prestigious writers and we drove together toward the underpass. On the field where the great battle had taken place we saw piles of lost briefcases, shoes and sandals. There were policemen all around, and ambulances were taking away the wounded every moment. Young men, bloody and lost, angry at anyone who came toward them in a car, rushed at the photographers and cameramen. Two high-level leaders were whistled at, and a third got a blow on the head from a policeman's billy club by mistake. Revolutionary songs were blaring from the loudspeaker in Student City."

## Sociological Experiment

On 23 September of last year the Belgrade District Public Prosecutor's Office issued a ruling temporarily banning the book by Dr Nebojsa Popov entitled "Drustveni sikobi--izazov sociologiji" [Social Conflicts--A Challenge to Sociology], which was soon given permanent confirmation by the district court and the Supreme Court of SR Serbia. The public prosecutor took the view that the book could "disturb the public," since it "portrayed the student events of 1968 in a light implying that this was society's opportunity to reject the domestic Stalinism and to start on the road of democratization, in which all the actions of the students are seen to be socially correct, while all the actions of government agencies and other social factors are portrayed as a smothering of this incipient democratization of society."

In the appeal rejected by the Serbian Supreme Court and filed by the publisher, the Center for Philosophy and Social Theory, which is a component of the Social Sciences Institute in Belgrade, states that in this case the Law on Public Information does not apply by any means: "Dr Nebojsa Popov's book is a scholarly work done as part of a scientific project in a scientific institute and financed by the Republic Community for Science. Since the freedom of science is guaranteed under the SFRY Constitution, and under the LCY Program science is to be the judge of science, administrative interdiction in this area is not in the spirit of the constitution and falls outside the proclaimed basic values of society. The decision to ban and destroy Nebojsa Popov's book would signify a complete disavowal of a whole series of self-managing bodies in various scientific institutions and ignoring the fact that the scientific community is organized to govern itself. The consequences can well be imagined if the courts and prosecutors take the place of self-managing institutions and the scientific and professional public."

Nebojsa Popov says that he has been gathering material on the spot since the fall of 1968, as a direct participant in the events. Since it so happened that he had a great deal of time, he worked a full 10 years shaping the book. As a matter of fact, he wanted to make a sociological experiment: to study with an actual event what behavior certain latent structures of society display in exceptional situations. Popov adds that there were no great issues that came to naught in '68, but rather it only became evident how the process of emancipation was progressing and all those places where it was encountering external and internal limitations.

Two years ago a book entitled "Studentski pokret 1968-72" [The University Student Movement 1968-72], written by a group of authors consisting of Ciril Boskovic, Pavle Gantar, Marjan Pungartnik and Pavle Zgaga, was published in Ljubljana by the Slovenian Republic Conference of the SSO [Socialist Youth League]. Aside from a number of documents, they offered the interesting thesis that '68 in Slovenia was only a farcical repetition of 1964 (closing down the journal PERSPEKTIVE and "pulverizing the free intelligentsia of Slovenia"). In Europe May '68 was trotting considerably behind May '64 in Slovenia. Within Yugoslavia the "criticism of everything that exists" was later taken over from PERSPEKTIVE by the philosophy journal PRAXIS. For those to whom the struggle for liberalism signified the true meaning of life and the

salvation of socialism the student movement, with its "socialist nature," proved itself to be an authentic expression of protest in the struggle of the "healthy forces" against the "turn in the liberal direction." It was in a way a struggle for the party against the government, and quite a few student leaders quickly underwent transformation from critics of everything that exists from the bottom up to critics of everything that exists from the top down.

#### The Events Were After All Seen Through

The book divides the Slovenian student movement into three periods. The syndicalist period in which guild demands were presented in the name of the students as a separate social group and in the name of the educational role of the intelligentsia in development of the Slovenian people. During the period when the movement was radicalized, overall social relations were criticized, the methods of street demonstrations were used, and subcultural and alternative movements emerged. Following the endless ideological polemics the movement was extinguished, and the students turned in upon themselves and washed their hands of politics.

The Belgrade students nurtured a wholesome athletic spirit, and at the time of the showdown with the police were fully aware of what was happening in the competition for the European Soccer Cup in Italy. Late into the night, barricaded in the lecture halls of the university, they recounted how Djajic had dribbled past Bobby Moore and how we had beaten the English and especially how the Swiss referee Dienst had taken away the completely deserved title of European champion. However, their Ljubljana colleagues did not have the least understanding for the triumph of our national basketball team at the world championship in Ljubljana in 1970. On that occasion they even issued a futile leftist proclamation against the general national joy at the time: "It is important to participate, not to win (and similar slogans)--they are the product of a rotten Europe. They were brought into being by the 19th century bourgeoisie, taken over by American imperialism and business, and Soviet narcissism and hegemonism. Whom does sports bring together? All who want to establish superiority, political and ideological prestige. It is not the best, but the best placed, who participate. The value of those who participate lies in the medals and cups. Sports for the population at large are not recreation, but commerce. Top-level athletics is an investment in prestige and ideology. The athletes are mercenaries paid by the viewers, the ideologues and business.... Participation means killing oneself and committing treason to one's people. To win is to lose. Participating means playing, playing with Nixon and Brezhnev--indeed as their ball.... We do not want to climb the winners' stand, we want re/action in the field. Our team is made up of the world's revolutionaries."

Publication of a book written about the '68 events by the editors Mirko Arsic of KOMUNIST and Dragan R. Markovic of RAD is anticipated in Belgrade. Both were high school students at the time, by and large they do not have personal recollections and sentimental memories, and their principal sources have been the abundant documentary materials which they have gathered. Mirko Arsic emphasized in a poll conducted by STUDENT: "The League of Communists judged that the demands of the students were justified, but that the method of

resolving them--going out into the streets--conflicted profoundly with the democratic spirit of our society. Problems can be resolved only through self-management and democratic procedures, not by exerting pressure. The criticism from the ranks of the students essentially coincided with the official criticism of society and the tendencies refracted in it. The students, defending ideal socialism and shattering its myths about it, went out into the streets in 1968. They did not accuse society and the state in order to change it radically. Rather, on the contrary, to issue a reminder that there are many problems in everyday life--even though the historic ideals are being realized."

### The Conscience of Society

The preconception has been created that there is nothing to read about '68 and that everything has been banned and anathematized. The newspaper of the Yugoslav Youth Federation MLADOST even joined at one time in condemnation of the demonstrations by the daily newspapers. Titles like "Cockle in the Young Grain." Only the newspaper of the Trade Union Federation RAD supported the students, saying that they had called attention to themselves as a real social force: "Young people have become what they always have been--the conscience of a society which owes them full confidence. After all, confidence in young people means confidence in the future, in socialism."

Extra issues of the newspaper STUDENT came out and were banned every day. However, they were subsequently released, except for the fifth and last issue. A collection entitled "Dokumenti (jun-lipanj 1968)" [Documents (June 1968)] was published in 1971 by PRAXIS in Zagreb, and after a lengthy dispute a ban remained in place on two articles (the Action Program of the Belgrade students which had been published everywhere without problems and a proclamation by one splinter group of Zagreb students). They were physically removed and "Dokumenti" was put on sale. Many newspapers and magazines with special-topic issues and extensive treatments of the demonstrations have been banned permanently or temporarily. VIDICI, GLEDISTA, RAZLOG, DELO, STUDENTSKI LIST.

In certain literary works of Borislav Pekic, Pavle Ugrinov, Vlado Jovicic, Miroslav Josic Visnjic, Momcilo Selic, Moma Dimic and Laslo Vogel the plot at times unfolds against a background of the events of '68. Much the same is true of the films "How I Was Systematically Destroyed by an Idiot" by Slobodan Sijan and "Tricky Summer" by Goran Paskaljevic. Goran Paskaljevic, Zelimir Zilnik, Mica Milosevic and Dejan Djurkovic have made documentary films about the "June events" and received prizes for them at Yugoslav and international festivals. The police have confiscated a sizable quantity of film material of Television Belgrade. Zika Mitrovic had the ambitious idea of making a feature film about how foreign intelligence services organized our '68 as part of the psychological warfare against our country. This was rightly prevented in good time.

Even one foreign author has written about the student movement in Yugoslavia: Ralph Pervan, "Tito and the Students," published by the University of Western Australia (1978).



Honored Veteran of '68

The now current breaking down of all the taboos about 1948 and Goli Otok seem not to have helped much toward freer and more sober reflection about 1968 as well. In general those 2 years are often set in relationship to one another, although they cannot be compared either in character or in significance.

When the students now ask Djordje Vukovic, who at that time was editor-in-chief of STUDENT, what it was like in '68, he answers briefly: "Exciting! If you don't believe it, try it yourselves."

He does not feel in the least like an honored veteran, and the memoir dimension of the student movement does not interest him. The "happening" was the predominant style of the time when he was a young man, while now young people show a much stronger tendency to turn toward tradition, stable values and the nationality as their key expression. They believe in an unchangeable order, in authority, in security, and whatever protest there might be is expressed by rock musicians.

Vukovic is not greatly insulted even by caustic allusions to the effect that Pol Pot in Kampuchea later effectively and monstrosly carried out the ideas of the students at that time concerning equal stomachs and the same pot for everyone.

For his part Djordje Vukovic is calm: he did not allow a single article against the market to be published in STUDENT, although naturally there were quite a few such desires.

In any case it was in '68 that doubt about the prosperity based on credit and imports which surrounded us was expressed for the first time, even though unclearly.

The desire for democracy, for cosmopolitanism, and for permanent inclusion among the progressive European peoples, under the direct sponsorship of the leadership groups of that time, grew into nonsensical giving of vent to ethnic emotions, which were only the driving force whereby those who ordered them acquired abundant power and strength.

Since that time there have been fewer and fewer all-Yugoslav ideas which have not been met with a knife as an expression of an aspiration toward unitarianism and hegemony. As though frenzied, everyone thinks that only someone else's unhappiness can bring them happiness.

It is nearly 15 years now that a sharp warning was issued in response to that from a platform incriminated at the time: "Is nationalism our destiny?"

Our university students have not been the only ones to receive blows from the police, nor is it always such a bad thing to receive blows in one's youth. This especially applies to those who believe too much in anyone. In parents or guardians. The problem is that our people have the longest memory of blows and wounds, they take pride in them, and sometimes they think it is their

right to live off them later on. The precise location of every individual at the underpass in New Belgrade in June 1968 today already has mythical importance like the deployment at Sutjeska in 1943.

Nevertheless, all the people from '68 have not wised up. It is a pity that in their lives they did not experience anything more worthwhile thereafter and that '68 remained forever the main day in their life. After so many fateful, fashionable and ideological changes and large collective disappointments, they have remained, even in their forties, in shiny blue jeans and blue denim work jackets. Young and immature forever. Possibly they have shaved and had a haircut. Perhaps, catching the same train as the punkers, they have had their ears pierced and put in an earring. This is the last thing that seems to them modern and outstanding.

They are convinced that they were the hygienists of the revolution. They wanted to give it a good wash, perhaps even in permanganate, but they were misunderstood by those who were their models. Whereas the students in Paris said "today imagination takes power," ours were not by any means so imaginative and poetic. All their slogans and ideas were concerned exclusively with the government and a dialogue with the government.

#### Only a Family Quarrel

They believed that they held at least the destiny of humanity in their hands. At the School of Philosophy radical student demands were formulated to the effect that they were good and did not think anything different from those whom they had risen up against. At the Drama Academy Ljubisa Ristic and Laza Stojanovic put on a street production of John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World" quite a bit before Warren Beatty. Bolshevism was in general very much in fashion, but the main trumps as politicians and rebels were raincoats and soft caps typical of Trotsky, and Dzerzhinskiy's fateful sentence: "Comrades, the situation is serious, I have not slept for 3 days"!

The more reasonable revolutionaries said back in 1968 that they were far fonder of lamb in the Writers' Club in Belgrade than of progressive skirmishes in the streets. They merely wanted to reserve a table in good time and in the most spectacular way.

Those who believed that it was not a game, we have seen and we are seeing once again today, truly did meet a tragic end.

In response to the criticism of the strict economists that the students "ruined the economic reform" and that they were in favor of the "state, against self-management socialism" and everything that was liberal and democratic, the former activists laugh and say that the value of their movement was primarily on the ethical plane. They at least fought for the right to rebel and to be disobedient. But no one believed like they did that they lived in the most ideal society in the world.

Which is why they demanded that that loyalty be paid off as soon as possible.

The cynical chroniclers say that our '68 is not really very interesting. A conflict of the generations in the framework of a regime, an ideology, a family quarrel. A struggle for a better place under the same sun and the same horizon. So why, then, so many bans?

7045

CSO: 2800/494

END